

Class and Gender in Brazil: Informal Education and the Naturalization of Gender Inequality
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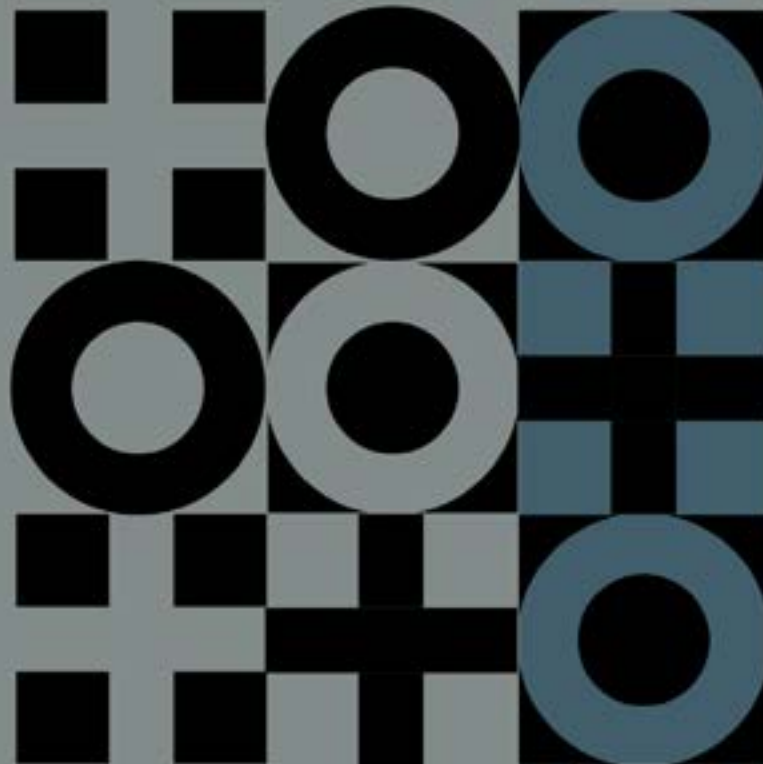
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SILVA DOS SANTOS, Emanuelle. **How to be a woman: class and gender in contemporary Brazil.** 2017. 121 p. PhD thesis at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Berlin, 2017.

This thesis is a contribution to research on *gendered habitus*. Using the work of Pierre Bourdieu, in particular his concepts of *habitus* and male domination, I explored woman's normalization of gender inequality and its appearance to be different in every social class in Contemporary Brazil. The aspects of woman identity that relate to feelings of weakness transmitted in a naturalized form inside of social class through informal education. The focus in this research is the possibility that women can transfer aspects of their identity through social practice on a daily basis and that the way to be a woman in lower class, for example, is unlike to "be a woman in Upper class in Brazil. I drew on Souza's (2011) work on social inequality in Brazil to develop my methodology and interviewed 30 mothers in different social classes. This research observed the interactions between mothers and daughters in their homes. The informal education approaches of the mothers interviewed were different. The discourse of the mothers on the *Ralé* (marginalized class) was different from the mothers in the upper class. We will describe in details about the division class on the chapter 6. I explored how mothers embed in their daughters the identities of what it means "to be woman", including perceptions of their physical capabilities, behaviours, that they engage in to compensate for feelings of vulnerability and weakness, and future prospects. I found different concepts of "womanhood" in my research. Some women had acquired an understanding of their bodies as relatively weak and vulnerable through strongly gendered *habitus*. Most of the women had their own understanding in each social class what where they role and what was asking by the society from them- even if it was unconscious but perceived by action and statements.

SILVA DOS SANTOS, Emanuelle. **Wie man eine Frau ist: Klasse und Geschlecht im zeitgenössischen** Brasilien. 2017. 121 p. Doktorarbeit an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2017.

Diese Arbeit ist ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des geschlechtsspezifischen Habitus. Anhand der Arbeit von Pierre Bourdieu, insbesondere seiner Konzepte von Habitus und männlicher Dominanz, untersuchte ich, wie Frauen die Ungleichheit der Geschlechter normalisieren und wie sie in jeder sozialen Klasse im heutigen Brasilien anders aussehen. Die Aspekte der Frauenidentität, die sich auf Schwächegefühle beziehen, die in einer eingebürgerten Form innerhalb der sozialen Klasse durch informelle Bildung übertragen werden. Meine Methodik wurde nach Souza (2011) Arbeit über die soziale Ungleichheit in Brasilien entwickelt. . Somit wurden 30 Mütter in verschiedenen sozialen Schichten interviewt. Die Recherche beobachtete die Wechselwirkungen zwischen Müttern und Töchtern in ihren Häusern. Die informellen Bildungsansätze der befragten Mütter waren unterschiedlich. Der Diskurs der Mütter über die Ralé (Randschicht) war anders als die Mütter in der Oberschicht. Wir werden in Kapitel 6 ausführlich auf die Teilungsklasse eingehen. Ich habe untersucht, wie die Mütter ihren Töchtern Identitäten, dessen einbetten, was es bedeutet, „Frau zu sein“, einschließlich der Wahrnehmung ihrer körperlichen Fähigkeiten und Verhaltensweisen, mit denen sie Gefühle, Verwundbarkeit, Schwäche und Zukunftsperspektiven ausgleichen. Nach meiner Forschung wurden unterschiedliche Konzepte von „Weiblichkeit“ gefunden. Einige Frauen hatten durch stark geschlechtsspezifische Habitus ein Verständnis für ihren Körper als relativ schwach und verletzlich erlangt. Die meisten Frauen hatten in jeder sozialen Klasse ein eigenes Verständnis dafür, wo sie eine Rolle spielen und was die Gesellschaft von ihnen verlangte – auch wenn es unbewusst war, aber von Handlungen und Aussagen wahrgenommen wurde.

To the Love of my life, Jesse Levinson

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As a young girl, I wondered why I could not participate in activities that were considered to be for boys. Why were things that I found fun like getting dirty and playing with trucks treated as *moleque* (masculine) and corrected by my parents? During my teenage years my situation worsened, especially after I “became” a woman. Gender inequality manifests itself in almost every aspect of life. In Brazil, it marks a strong symbolic break in a woman’s life, resulting in more social restrictions and gender segregation. Despite this, I frequently played with boys and had many of them as good friends. But I always heard that I threw “like a girl” and I cried “like a girl,” which made me believe for a long time that to be a girl was not a great thing. As a girl, I learned that I was a second-class citizen: fragile, and in need of someone to take care of me. How could I, a mere girl, succeed in life with this mindset?

In spite of my awareness of the negative impact of gender stereotypes, I have used the phrase “like a girl” to describe certain things because I have come, perhaps reluctantly, to recognize that I embody a gender stereotype. By this I mean that I experience and feel certain things in gendered ways. For instance, I hesitate to engage in physical activities because I fear injury. I frequently doubt my ability to carry out the physical effort or skill required in many social activities. When I played a game as a child, I was always the victim, the one who was “done to” rather than the instigator of the action. Even if I feel like a strong, courageous person, I am always aware of the internalized misogyny ingrained in me to be passive and weak.

However, several years ago, I started to wonder how women were educated by their mother, which made me understand how we, as women, educate girls to be weak. For me, it was clear that women have contributed to the social fabric of gender inequality. Without thinking, mothers naturalised and embodied a female stereotype, and this process occurs in every social

The above-mentioned experiences were disconcerting. Like many women, I had tended to live in my body as if it were persistently vulnerable to physical dangers and threats. In terms powerfully spoken by Simone de Beauvoir, my body was a space open to “colonization” by others and filled with experiences of passivity, weakness, defensiveness, vulnerability, and “softness,” i.e., a body hemmed in by physical limitations. These qualities, attributes, and rules of conduct have become associated with women. When discussing the experiences of women in Brazil, it is important to consider how other historically constructed categories, such as race and education level, intersect with gender. We must also attend to adjacent issues in Brazilian society: the legacy of slavery, the anti-slavery movement and the birth of women’s rights, racism in the suffragist movement, working women, black women and the history of the suffragist movement, the obsolescence of domestic work, education, and liberation.¹

Gender and class, as fundamental dimensions of social life, correspond to basic and articulated categories of analysis of social relations. Gender constructs and social expectations inform social action as much as class does; therefore, a perspective that considers both gender and class is especially important to understanding the distinct life trajectories available to men and women. A multidimensional perspective also helps to explain how women, as gendered subjects, experience their process of socialization through a *habitus*² of class.

This thesis explores gender identity construction with a special focus on the ways in which women experience social roles daily. I also focus on the prospect of changing aspects of gender identity through informal education processes in each social class. To analyze these concepts, I interviewed women who are mothers of girls in each of the five major Brazilian social classes³: underclass (*rales*), *trabalhadoras* (*fighers*), *Stabilized* (*estabilizados*) and *Ruling* (*dominates*). I chose women who are mothers of daughters as research subjects because they could illustrate both what they learned from their own mothers and what they seek

¹ Davis, 2016.

² Social dispositions, perceptions and appreciations. See more in Chapter 3.

³ Explained in Chapter 6.

to communicate to their daughters about what it means to be a woman in their particular social milieu. Mothers of daughters embody both gender and class roles, and stand at the intersection of two generations.

My research project has been shaped by a few core questions that reflect and are informed by a conjunction of theoretical and research frameworks. I will discuss these frameworks in Chapter 4. This project will address three key research questions:

1. How can categories such as “identity” and “gendered habitus” shed light on women’s experiences?
2. To what extent is a woman’s gendered identity as “female/feminine” an embodied phenomenon in each milieu?
3. Does each social milieu affect the way in which aspects of women’s gendered identity are embodied?

These questions are important for a number of reasons. First, my research is designed to contribute to long-standing theoretical and research interests in identity and embodiment within the social sciences. Feminist scholars have long been interested in the social dynamics of gender dichotomization and male domination. However, in the past century, feminist scholars, including Collins (1975), Beauvoir (1949), and Butler (2004; 2006) have made important contributions in this vein to social theory.

To understand the production and reproduction of the gender habitus within social classes, we must begin with the concept of social identity. According to social identity theory, social environments determine the categorization of people into groups and the attributes associated with each group (Bauman, 2009; Elias, 1994; Goffman, 1959). In addition, a person’s social identity allows for social recognition but could also contribute to stigma if the person belongs to a marginalized group.

According to Giddens (above n 5, p. 56), “children learn about their bodies through their own bodies”; in other words, they learn through their practical experience of external events. The body, therefore, is more than a physical entity and is akin to an “action-system,” in that “its practical immersion in the interactions of day-to-day life is an essential part of sustaining a coherent sense of self-identity” (Giddens, ano, p. 99).

The socialization process begins at birth: families usually treat newborns differently according to their sex (Peterson, 1999). Families begin the process of gender socialization in the delivery room, dressing newborn boys in blue and girls in pink (or other colors that are symbolically attached to gender). From the moment that a baby enters the world, it is inundated with symbols and language that shape its conception of gender roles and gender stereotypes. Language used by families to describe boys often centers on physical characteristics and themes like strength and agility, while language attributed to girls relates to affection, expressivity, daintiness, or fragility. The differential treatment of babies according to gender serves to shape behavior patterns and define gender boundaries. These boundaries are eventually internalized and become *identity standards*—the references through which interactions, settings, and contexts are used to compare the self to others (Walker, 1999).

Literature in this area examines the mechanisms that differentiate acceptable male and female behavior, and how such behavior evolves over time. One crucial component in understanding how gender identities are learned by family socialization and perpetuated throughout life is *habitus* – as social dispositions, perceptions, and appreciations. This concept will be developed. Boys and girls learn and develop in gendered subcultures, which generally influences a child’s social network and future interactions. For example, when a father (or father and mother) teaches a son to be aggressive and encourages playing sports and participating in activities that involve negotiating with others, the son will likely learn that appropriate behavior consists of interactions with a wide range of people from heterogeneous groups. When a mother (or mother and father) encourages a daughter to interact intimately with others and encourages one-on-one play, the daughter will likely internalize messages and cues that promote similar behavior later in life. These identities that are internalized during early child socialization—from both the family and other sources—serve to create highly differentiated worlds of acceptable behavior.

The “doing gender” (Anderson, 2003) perspective helps us understand the social constructionist aspect to gender: that gender identities are not static, but rather fluid entities continually in the process of formation during social interactions. Gender may be fundamental, institutionalized, and enduring, but because actors “do gender” as a process in social settings, gender meanings and identities are always capable of and primed for change (Fenstermaker; West, 2002). This perspective aligns with identity theory’s concept of

gender identity commitment and salience, which I will discuss shortly. The more one “does gender” while interacting with others, the more likely one’s gender identity will become more committed, and thus concretized within the self.

In the following chapters, I discuss the process of gender classification in different social classes in Brazil, drawing on theory related to habitus, gender, education, and class.

The first chapter presents classical feminist theory, Marxist feminism, postcolonial feminism, and queer theory before examining the social construction of gender.

Chapter 2 details Pierre Bourdieu’s contributions to gender studies. Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, capital, and milieu are foundational to this research study in explaining the role of gender in the embodiment of social class in contemporary Brazil.

In Chapter 3, I examine at the socialization process and the ways that particular groups adopt specific behaviors and modes of thinking. Building on the theories of Butler and Bourdieu, I consider the core concepts of social regulation, habitus, and disposition distinction. In order to ground the research, I consider a gendered habitus, which is defined as socialization and the acquisition of culturally defined gender roles.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the reproduction of gender roles in each class. In this chapter, I look at Bourdieu’s arguments about education, privilege, and the internalization of gender.

Chapter 5 examines the class structure of contemporary Brazil, using Jesse Souza’s definitions of five distinct social milieus.

Chapter 6 describes my research methodology, which is based on the work of Karl Mannheim. In this chapter, I present and discuss my research sample and interpretive method.

In Chapter 7, I examine the data regarding the gendered habitus of each social class and how each defines what it means to be a woman. In examining the data, I analyze the similarities and differences between women in diverse social classes.

In the concluding chapter, I verify how the data points to an image of gender that both builds upon and departs from gendered habitus and class analysis; the experience of being a woman is at once universal and particular to each class context.

2 FEMINISM AND GENDER CONCEPTS

2.1 Feminism and the concept of gender

To explore the theoretical construction of gender and its relationship with the feminist movement, we must discuss the increase of feminist discourse in various fields of knowledge over the past two decades (Messer-Davidow, 2002). The proliferation of discourse represented an attempt to elevate the status of women's studies and knowledge production centering on women's experiences. This rise in women's studies also brought visibility to another disciplinary focus: working class studies, which included the history of the working class and the labor force in industry. In this way, women entered the theoretical field in connection to movements that had begun developing in the country seventy years earlier. The fight for political opening process in Brazil also represented a period of consciousness-raising about womanhood, which gained momentum in the country through the establishment of the Decade of Women by the United Nations from 1975 to 1985 (Fáveri, 2014). The discussion about female/feminist issues became further magnified when militants exiled by the dictatorial regime returned to Brazil. Though discussion of women's oppression had advanced significantly in other countries, feminist discourse in Brazil was in its infancy during the post-opening period. The meetings and conflict with Latin American militants with French(s), German(s) with this reflection of a right-thinking woman allowed modifications also in Brazil. In the first phase of the Brazilian feminist movement, the directive was to visualize the female as a qualitative and constitutive entity within Brazilian institutions and the population. This phase of the movement ran from 1980 to 1985. Discourse within the academy and within the movement emphasized the following:

[...] the importance of the participation of women within parties/trade unions, neighborhood movements/ institutions in general etc. [...] is displayed to the woman, with this perspective, within the general movements, trying to point to the occupation of an important segment and qualitatively numerous in the Macro-social, that is. "Woman: Participation and political representation" and could be the slogan of this period (Bandeira; Oliveira, 1990, p. 5).⁴

During a second point in the history of feminist movements in Brazil, a slogan circulated amongst the feminist discussion groups that proliferated after the 1980s: "Every day is political" (Godinho, 2004). Since the 1980s, non-Brazilian women's movements have demanded that governments develop and act in the construction of public policy focused on women as citizens. These movements sought female participation in the public sphere: the labor force, education, and public space. a creation of new demands and a challenge in the elaboration and execution of public policies.

Political discussion created a need within the various movements to not only make women visible, but also further understand women's subjectivity and the construction of "Feminine Identity, [as revealed through] daily relations". There was at this time so much concern with political parties, the idea was to spread feminists ideas. There was, on the one hand, social and academic resistance to such ideas and, on the other hand, the feminists attempting to understand the specificity of being a woman were marginalized subjects in society. The resistance was intended as a response to numerous provocations by friends/lovers, which affirmed the asymmetrical positions of men and women in society. Ultimately, the new insights on women's position in connection to the emergence of the Brazilian labor movement did not change anything,

⁴ Original: "[...] a importância da participação das mulheres no seio de partidos/sindicatos, movimentos de bairro/instituições em geral etc. [...] Visualiza-se a mulher, com esta perspectiva, dentro dos movimentos gerais, tentando apontar para a ocupação de um segmento importante e, qualitativamente, numeroso no âmbito do macrosocial, ou seja. 'Mulher: participação e representação política', podendo ser este o *slogan* deste período".

because women participated in training in the labor movements. This period, or the “second moment,” spanned from 1985 through 1988 (Costa, 2016).

The aforementioned process of transformation in Brazil also incorporates the cultural liberation of 1968: greater acceptance of sexual behaviors outside of heterosexual marriage, access to psychological therapies and psychoanalysis, daily experiences that collided with the traditional configuration of gender hierarchies, and

[...] gender-based violence in the experience of torture, given the specific form of violence women suppression, not only sexually, but above all by the use of the mother-child relationship as one form of feminine vulnerability (Sarti, 1998, p.22).

The third phase of the movement began in 1989 and extends to the present day, with a focus on in which the female discussion/male search fight poverty on favelas and recruit allies. The women’s movement lifted the veil on the issue, which had been neglected in other social movements, and sought scientific validation for studies on women still living in the ghettos. At the same time, the movement worked to politicize public spaces and claim space in the private sphere as well.

In theorizing systems of gender and sex, anthropologist and feminist activist Gayle Rubin⁵ demonstrates that the relationship between reproduction and gender permeates certain analytical frameworks and is anchored by the assumption that heterosexuality is natural. In 1975 she pointed to the existence of a “sex-gender system,” which she defined as “the arrangements whereby a society transforms biological sexuality into the product of human activity. Rubin’s theory builds on the work of several other scholars, including Claude Levi-Strauss’s elementary kinship structures (1949). In particular, Levi-Strauss formulates the concept of kinship stating that marriage serves as the most important legal prearrangement for establishing alliances between families. The sexual division of labor establishes a state of mutual dependence between the sexes, resulting in the reproduction of gender inequality. Hence, Levi-Strauss⁶ concludes that the difference between the human world and the animal world lies in the fact that the human family could not exist without a society, i.e. a plurality of families willing to recognize that there are other ties beyond consanguineous ones, and that the natural process of descent can only be carried out through the process of social affinity.

Drawing on Levi-Strauss’s work, Rubin (1994, p. 213) states that kinship relations establish a difference, or opposition, between the sexes at the biological level, which exacerbates differences at the cultural level. According to Rubin⁷, kinship systems involve the social creation of two dichotomous genders from biological sex, which produces a sexual division of labor. The sexual division of labor results in the interdependence of men and women and the social regulation of sexuality, which prescribes or represses distinct heterosexual arrangements. Here, Rubin emphasizes that in the Levi-Straussian theory, a relationship exists between the creation of gender in these terms and the creation of heterosexuality. Furthermore, this relationship cannot be detached from biological or social reproduction, as the assignment of gender preserves the institution of marriage. But according to Rubin, gender in Levi-Strauss’s work not only signifies an identification with one sex or the other, but also requires a direction of sexual desire toward the opposite sex. The sexual division of labor creates men and women, as well as heterosexuals. Thus, the suppression of homosexuality, and, according to Rubin, the oppression of homosexuals, is the product of the same system that oppresses women through its rules. In this sense, the relationship between homosexuality and kinship raises several questions relating to sexual division of labor. First, how does the process of destabilizing this assumption affect the distinction between (and relationship of) nature and culture? Second, how would a theory of gender operate if it accounted for the relationship between kinship and homosexuality?

A second important component of Rubin’s contribution to gender studies is her articulation of the effects of gender structures on the construction of individual identities. Here, I must also consider Henrietta Moore’s⁸ understanding of the relationship between anthropology and subjective constructions of gender identity. In considering the construction of gendered subjects, Moore emphasizes that it is difficult to capture the effect of social representations of gender on subjective constructions of gender, and in turn,

⁵ 1994

⁶ 1949

⁷ Idem

⁸ 2000

the effect of a representation or self-representation (subjective gender) on social constructions of gender. In different ways, Gayle Rubin and Henrietta Moore both expressed, using deconstructive approaches, the inadequacy of anthropology when trying to account for the social representations of gender. To fill this gap in knowledge, Rubin and Moore both turned to psychoanalysis.

Joan Scott offers one of the most important theoretical contributions to the concept of gender representation, stating: “the term ‘gender’ becomes a way of indicating ‘cultural constructions’ – the entirely social creation of ideas about roles suited to men and women. It is a way of referring to the exclusively social origins of the subjective identities of men and women. ‘Gender’ is, by this definition, a social category imposed on a sexed body” (Scott, 1990, p. 75). Scott indicates that words could bring the notion of biological determinism and stresses relational entre feminism and masculine. He argues that the concept of gender was created to oppose a biological determinism in relations between the sexes, giving them a fundamentally social nature: “The genre also underlined the relational aspect of normative definitions of femininity” (Scott, 1993 p. 265). This relational aspect stems from the concern that some work in women’s studies focused on women too narrowly, so the notion of gender would account for that the fact that women and men were defined in reciprocal terms and could not be understood separately. Scott⁹ also understood gender as an analytical category, like race and class. He not only promotes the inclusion of gender oppression in history but also allows for an analysis of the nature of gender oppression. In the academy, Scott’s work illuminated the relationship between inequality are related at least to these three elements: gender, race, and class.

The adoption of new theoretical paradigms has enabled the consideration of gender as a category of analysis. These new paradigms are important because the use of gender terms without a change in theoretical perspective would have resulted in studies related to women which did not question relations between men and women and how they function.

In the middle of the last century, a new paradigm was constituted in the wake of skepticism toward progressivism and rationalism: post-structural studies (or post-modernism) emphasizes the subjectivity of subjects and language, the impossibility of scientific neutrality, and the importance of qualitative studies. Post-structural lists deny phenomenological law, pointing to the instability of concept and categories. The study of gender in this new theoretical paradigm has enabled feminist scholars and political allies to find a voice in the academy.

Multiculturalism and post-structuralism have distinctive differences and produce not only democratic theory, but also a theory of justice. Rawls’s¹⁰ work clarified that Western democracies (and their underlying theories) could coexist with the stark reality of profound social and political inequality. This shift is an important part of contemporaneous feminist theory. In part this is due to the original contribution of Rawls. In the mid-70s, gender emerged as a theoretical concept¹¹ and spread quickly through the social sciences in the 80s. This formulation of gender distinguished – analytical category marked by – from gender, a dimension that emphasizes the role of history, society, and policy in its construction, and requires relational analysis. As a proposal for a categorization system, the “category” of gender (Scott, 1995), has mostly relied on binary form (rarely in tripartite format) to explain the differences between female and male, men and women and also between homo and heterosexuality. This understanding penetrating on the “social catalog” that shapes the border of sexuality. In the following chapter, I will discuss the specific dichotomies and binaries that embrace the gender category.

In the late 70s, scholars developed and conceptualized gender as the social construction of sexual identities and as an object of feminist studies. The application of gender as an analytical category changes the focus in discussions because it opens up a new issue in the feminist field: universal trends in relation to male and female with historical and cultural specificity. According to Cecilia Sardenberg¹²:

The genre has opened the way for deconstruction and the denaturalization of male and female. But this new issue also led to the emergence of this ‘gap’ between what they call feminism of modernity and feminism of postmodernity.

⁹ 1993

¹⁰ 1971

¹¹ Rubin, 1975

¹² 2004, p.24.

As feminist theorists recognized the biological predispositions implicit in the concept of gender, they tried to cover this concept of psychological dimensions, social and cultural rights of both femininity and masculinity. At this time, gender was thought of as a relational concept that accounted for power relations between men and women. Furthermore, gender indicated that social roles and subjectivity were both social constructions. In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex*, a work often considered the starting point of gender studies.

In my view, de Beauvoir brightened the field of gender studies when she wrote *The Second Sex*, and especially the sentence: “No one is born a woman, but becomes a woman”¹³. This phrase represents the only consensus that exists among feminists about gender: we are thought since our birth to be male or female and to follow informal predispositions. In *The Second Sex*, de Beauvoir sought to deconstruct the supposed naturalness of womanhood, demonstrating that certain biological traits are not more important than social and political determinations in the process of “becoming a woman.” For Rubin “it is necessary to analyze the causes of the oppression of women by the hierarchical society. For this, social and political changes require changes in gender relations”¹⁴.

The years 1930–1970 were marked by several academic publications about and by feminists¹⁵. In 1979 Gayle Rubin conceptualized a sex/gender system, using Marxist and psychoanalytic theory as bases for her critiques. Rubin’s sex/gender system accounts for the ways in which a society transforms biological sexuality social roles that become regarded as conventional and “natural.” The author also argues that this process often results in the oppression of women. Rubin highlights the sexual division of labor: the social organization of sexuality, sexual coercion of women, compulsory heterosexuality, and patriarchy as forces that maintain the oppression of women.

The feminist movement, collectively organized, opposes the subordination of women, and aims to change the subordinate position of women in an economic system that has defined western European history since the eighteenth century and it is linked to the development of democracy through the American and French revolutions.

The French philosopher François Pollain de la Barre presented theoretical framework that contradicts the essentialist view of men and women based on anatomical differences. Between 1673 and 1675, he pitted himself against the advocates of female inferiority, arguing that inequalities between men and women were not a result of biological inequalities, but rather the result of social and political inequalities imposed on women at that time¹⁶.

No framework of feminist thought, the questions best grounded in postmodern approaches pointed to present incongruities, no philosophical ground, between these approaches and the feminist project, while judgment and the project of society, as inexorably anchored in the tradition of “modernity”¹⁷. With regard to gender, this new perspective allowed for the deconstruction of strict binaries that provided fixed roles viewed as natural (De Lauretis, 1986; Louro, 1997). Interpretations of postmodernism were published and shared in the new analytical perspective and cut across class, size, age, race, and sex. Gender studies have played a key role in the human sciences in terms of denouncing and even unmasking modern structures of colonial oppression; these structures operated for centuries across multiple spatial and temporal contexts, producing economic, racial, and gendered oppression.

Woman participation has its roots in discussions on gender issues within the academy, as well as in organized movements in “the streets.” In the United States, feminist studies originated from researchers’ protests in the 1960s. Critical thinking in academia served as a catalyst for the new paradigm for examining inequalities between women and men. American researchers began to reflect on the experiences of women, and on their aspirations with regards to work, independence, sexuality, etc. In Brazil, by contrast, feminist researchers have not sought to create alternative spaces within the academy, but rather integrate the academic dynamics established in the demand for individual recognition of intellectual concerns. Accordingly, feminist studies in this period sought to expose and question subaltern women in various social aspects.

¹³ 1947, p. 76

¹⁴ 1979, p. 157

¹⁵ Matos, 2008.

¹⁶ Guimarães, 2005, p. 81

¹⁷ Piscitelli, 2002.

Gender as a social construct rendered women and men unequal. This understanding of gender served as a counterpoint to the biological interpretation of gender, which linked sexual difference to the hierarchically different social positions of women and men. The modern understanding of the “world of gender” changed this conceptualization, especially from the first attempts to overcome social inequalities between men and women.

The two positions in this discussion represent fairly distinct conceptions of the body (Connell 1995), and hence there is a disagreement over the degree to which they see sex as socially constructed. At one end of the spectrum are those who believe that gender is not grounded in any biological or genetic reality. In this view, the body “is a more or less neutral surface or landscape on which a social symbolism is imprinted”¹⁸. Ethnomethodologists believe that sexual categories and the “natural attitude” are social constructions in addition to being biological and physical realities. This concept contradicts the ideas of sex as immutable, which French scholars of the early twentieth century defended; they refused to separate the social and biological spheres, as well as the concepts of gender and sex. Wharton’s understanding was that gender is experienced through social development. Drawing on Simone de Beauvoir’s work, Saffioti¹⁹ highlights gender as “a way to exist in the body, conceptualizing the body as a situation, or a field of cultural possibilities that are received and reinterpreted”²⁰. Indeed, the body is essential in determining the situation of a woman or man in the world, but the body is not sufficient in defining whether the individual is a woman or man.

Contemporary feminist essays on the inequalities between women and men sought to understand the construction of a female body and sexuality in order to understand gender inequality. Biological characteristics between men and women, including differences in physical strength and brain weight, were used in an attempt to explain that the “feminine nature” was weak and the “male nature” was strong. Those biological explanations served to validate the common view that the domestic sphere was the “natural place” for women, and that “women’s work” involved “caring of the family” (*cuidadora do lar e da família*). Meanwhile, the “natural place” for men was the marketplace or workplace, with the possibility of holding a powerful position out of the household. This idea of the human condition is nothing more than an attempt to legitimize social inequalities.

Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble*, published in 1990, functions as one of the main theoretical frameworks of “third wave feminism,” which sought to critique exclusion within the movement itself. Black feminists in the United States accused the mainstream feminist movement of elitism and exclusion. They alleged that mainstream feminists were silencing black women’s voices, and said they felt marginalized for reasons beyond gender. Consequently, the feminist movement had distinct demands that often conflicted with those of the movement’s leaders.

Butler draws on Foucault’s work, especially *The History of Sexuality*, in which the author argues that the main hallmark of modernity is having political control over the body. In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* Foucault notes that according to current received wisdom, the end of the seventeenth century marked the beginning of a repressive regime of censorship and prudishness with regards to sexuality. Reversing this argument he suggests instead that never before had there been so much attention focused on sexuality and the nineteenth century in fact saw the emergence of an enormous proliferation of knowledge and the development of multiple mechanisms of control in relation to sexuality.

The consequence of the fact that sexual behavior has become a strategically relevant subject as modernity has turned this topic in a political issue. In this context, politics gradually extrapolates its classical themes: male and female to include also the control of their voter. The classification of the body on the other hand, is based on another important aspect of modernity: science, which establishes the criteria for distinguishing between healthy and unhealthy behavior. Foucault is particularly concerned with the relations between political power and the body, and describes various historical ways of training the body to make it socially productive. The body is an element to be managed in relation to strategies of the economic and social management of populations.

Foucault maintains that in modernity, science has merged with power. This fusion resulted in what the author calls “disciplinary technology” that creates “correct” and “forbidden” patterns of behavior. This stan-

¹⁸ Wharton, 2005

¹⁹ 1992, p. 185

²⁰ Santos, 2010

dard, or “regulatory ideal,” sets forth rules that not only affect, but also constitute, the individual. Foucault’s concept of body, which Butler builds on, is a more robust concept as identity of the subject. This is the result of a historical process marked by the struggle for power of the traditional system. This struggle imposes its criterion to classify its subjects, defining a hegemonic rule that regulates the attribution of identities. Foucault states that through process, the subject is produced by power.

Judith Butler examined the supposed scientific and natural characteristics of being a woman. She argued that the sex/gender dichotomy of Gayle Rubin establishes the existence of only two genders, the masculine and the feminine, and thus suggests that the process of gender construction is limited by sex; that is, immutable biological characteristics constitute an essence (even if a minimal essence) to which culture attributes meanings, which mean that it cannot challenge the core of gender identity, which lies in biology²¹.

According to Butler, the sex/gender dichotomy (or nature/culture) presupposes a distinction between the inner and outer world that is unsustainable. “Natural” sex as the characteristic of body delimitation is a social creation, the result of the preservation and stability of a subject whose gender is socially understandable (in other words, whose gender expresses the causal relation between sex and the prohibition of certain behaviors). The sex-gender dichotomy guarantees the stability of gender identity, insofar as it assumes the anatomy of the body as its foundation²². Butler affirms that gender is performative, as gender is constituted by modes of action associated with femininity and masculinity.

Nancy Fraser shares some of Butler’s view on the relationship established between the process of subjectivation and power, but differs from her in that she does not refer to the explanatory refusal or normative criterion that underlies Butler’s critique of exclusion. To clarify her position, Fraser points to two aspects in Butler’s argument in *Gender Trouble*²³, one ontological, the other normative. Fraser points out that Butler defends a poststructuralist ontology of the subject, according to which it is not sufficient to recognize the subject as constructed by its context, rather it must be understood as a product of power. Contrary to what many of Butler’s opponents think, Fraser says, this idea does not exclude the critical capacity of the subject, but only the conception of autonomy that belongs to a structure of subjectivity prior to power relations.

However, for Fraser, Butler’s critical work presents limitations. Although she notes that Butler regards social transformation as positive, Fraser asserts that Butler’s argument cannot provide criteria for distinguishing between positive and negative change, the progressive and the regressive, the oppressive and the emancipatory. In short, Butler’s ontology generates constraints in the field of normativity. After all, the adoption of the Foucauldian idea that the process of constitution of the subject necessarily implies its subjection does not allow us a glimpse at a state of equality or a utopia. The normativity implied in his text is that “reification of identity is bad because it generates exclusion” and “the deconstruction of identity is good because it is inclusive.” But this normativity is still, says Fraser, insufficient for a critical feminist theory²⁴.

Similar to Butler, Fraser²⁵ and Nicholson²⁶ argue that the rapprochement between feminist theory and postmodernism would reject the idea of gender as the subject of the story, replacing the uniform notion of female gender identity with social identity concepts that are plural and complex, with gender as only one relevant trait among many.

2.2 Social construction of gender

As the main components of social structure, status and roles allow us to organize our lives in consistent, predictable ways. In conjunction with established norms, these roles prescribe our behavior and dictate interactions with people occupying different social statuses, whether we know these people or not. However, this predictability has an insidious side: when behavioral norms become too rigidly defined, our “free” action is often compromised. Rigid norms lead to the development of stereotypes—oversimplified assumptions that people within a group have particular traits in common. Although positive stereotypes exist, most stereotypes are negative and are used to justify discrimination against members of a given group.

²¹ Butler, 1993, p. 23.

²² Butler, 2007, p. 33.

²³ Butler, 1990

²⁴ Fraser, 2007

²⁵ 1987

²⁶ 1992

Men and women are often stereotyped according to the traits they are assumed to possess by virtue of their biological makeup. For example, women are stereotyped as flighty and unreliable due to the assumption that they possess uncontrollable, raging hormones that fuel unpredictable emotional outbursts.

The assignment of negative stereotypes results in sexism, specifically the belief that the position of a woman is inferior to the position of a man. Men are not immune to negative consequences of sexism, but women are more likely to experience sexism because they occupy a more stigmatized position than men do. In comparison to their male counterparts, women are more likely to occupy roles inside and outside their homes that are associated with less power, less prestige, and less pay or no pay. Biological perception reinforces negative beliefs about women's inferiority, which then functions to justify discrimination directed at females.

Gender refers to the social, cultural, and psychological traits assigned to males and females in particular social contexts. Sex makes us male or female; gender makes us masculine or feminine. Sex is an innate status because a person is born with it, but gender is learned status because it must be learned.

2.3 Feminism and Marxist theory

The feminists mentioned in the previous section challenged conceptions in leftist thinking influenced by Marxism. In Marxist theory, politics is a rational discourse that defines exploitation according to objectively determined criteria; class, for example, is a condition of objective exploitation and oppression. This kind of definition was considered inappropriate for feminism, as women exist within groups that, in these terms, could be defined as "oppressed" and "oppressive." For example, following these objective criteria, middle-class white women would not be considered "oppressed," whereas feminists believed that all women suffer oppression. This statement was justified by defining oppression differently. According to feminists, first of all, it was necessary to pay attention to women's experiences: oppression would include everything that women "experienced" as oppressive. In this way, radical feminists affirmed the validity of the subjective theories of oppression against the "objective" ones.

Criticism directed at postmodernist theory, including deconstructionist approaches and postmodernism, emphasize differences not proposing an alternative to the feminist movement to distance themselves from political practice. Here, Piscitelli further elaborates on feminist criticism of postmodern approaches:

The questions about women's liberation movement defined as unheard policies are often framed in traditionally coercive institutions such as capitalism or the state. This is interesting because in defining the political mode of accommodating new conceptions of oppression, all activity that perpetuates male domination has come to be regarded as political. In this sense, a policy of passing to involve any power relationship might or might not be useful with a public sphere²⁷.

Despite these conditions, many women, most of the time, do not fully realize that their womanhood is subordinated and exploited in society, which means these women sometimes have a blurred view of the gender inequality situation.

New approaches to gender studies illuminate a gap between theoretical discussions and women's lived realities, which demonstrates how these theories have limited relevance outside the academy. The "gender studies" referenced by postmodernity eventually creates a dichotomy (male/female), as shown by Moraes²⁸.

Class status determines how subjects experience various expressions of oppression. Therefore, social movements should have at their core a center class. Cultural expressions (or another word) are reproduced via exploitation of the working class to ensure the interests of the bourgeoisie. Fighting to eliminate these forms of inequality and oppression requires the defense of libertarian values – which allow for prejudice, discrimination, and subordination – before the social subject gains the right to free expression from their subjectivities. The position defended here is not the neutralization or cancellation of social differences, but the perception that the feminist movement should converge with certain political and social objectives. It would be a mistake to emphasize differences in gender as attributable to cultural constructions rather than analyzing, from a universal perspective, that these cultural expressions have common roots in a class-based society that denotes a clear interest on the part of the bourgeoisie to perpetuate subordination over others

²⁷ Piscitelli, 2002, p. 5.

²⁸ 1996s

for their own ends. This subordination manifests in (name things) and (link to women's social reproduction). Thus, we ask, "How can we move forward in gender studies with a consistent political practice if there is no amelioration of the conditions that comprise women (or any group)'s realities?"

Marxist thought is ruled by exactly the opposite of denial of materiality, and it is through this lens that it develops the concrete social reality that determines consciousness. The critical social theory, contrary to misleading and poor views of reality knowledge, learns and makes the mediation in the dialectical movement between universality – biased laws and great determination of a given social complex and uniqueness – field appearance, immediacy/factuality expressed in everyday life, in space that "every fact seems to explain himself, following a chaotic causality" (Pontes, 2000, p.41).

This real analytic form applied to Marxism, unlike postmodernity, does not result in a confused and barren theory, without clear application to political practice. Marxist theory is fundamentally focused on the transformation of bourgeois to overcoming society. Therefore, Marxism has an explicit objective of policy intervention in order to instigate a revolutionary process centered on the interests of the working class. Marxism provides a critical analysis of social relations pertaining to gender through a perspective of totality that does not fragment reality. Instead, Marxism seeks to understand reality beyond the appearance of "representations," without neglecting the search for the essence of social phenomena and their determinations. Thus, Marxist social theory allows for the feminist movement and gender studies to be instrumental in denaturalizing the various oppressions to which women are subjected. Property, according to Marxist theory, would damage the family – especially women and children – as they usually became a server of man.

A defense of Marxist feminism is urgent at a time when contemporary transformations require political organization to counter capitalism, which has, unfortunately, resulted in a so-called "culturalist feminism" which reframes materialism, rejecting a "systemic analysis, anti-capitalist and the relationship between the history of culture and the construction of meanings in a social class system"²⁹. This "culturalist feminism" contradicts the demands that historical conditions put to confront social inequalities and marginalizes "analysis of work and gender in favor of cultural practice, body meanings, pleasures"³⁰.

Finally, Marxist theory goes to the heart, the focus of social inequalities, analyzing within a materialistic dimension and a totality of perspective women's subordination, therefore, denaturalized, as suggested by the gender category.

2.4 Queer Theory and a break with the binary concept of gender

Queer theory emerged in the United States in the late 1980s in critical opposition to sociological studies focused on sexual and gender minorities. Initially, this theoretical current appeared in areas of academia usually not associated with social research, such as philosophy and literary criticism. Queer theory gained recognition in some social studies departments at Ivy League universities, which exposed the object of its analysis: the dynamics of sexuality and desire within the organization of social relations. The critical tension between queer theory and the social sciences boosted queer business and the establishment of a dialogue that began with Steven Seidman's *Queer Theory and Sociology* (1996), a collection of books on contemporary social theory.

The dialogue in *Queer Theory and Sociology* was characterized by estrangement, but also by an understanding of sexuality as a social and historical construction. The tone of estrangement in Seidman's work likely derived from the fact that, at least until the 1990s, the social sciences treated heterosexuality as synonymous with the social order; this did not change until investigations into non-hegemonic sexualities began. Despite their good intentions, studies on minorities ended for maintaining and naturalizing the heterosexual norm.

Queer studies developed from the encounter between a chain of philosophy and American Cultural Studies with French post-structuralism, which problematized traditional conceptions of the subject, identity, agency, and identification. One crucial intervention in queer studies was its break with the Cartesian concept of the subject based on ontology and epistemology. Although there are differences of opinion between authors, it is clear that in general the subject in post-structuralism is always seen as temporary and circumstantial³¹. Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, queer theorists de-

²⁹ Castro, M. G. And Lavinas, L. 1992

³⁰ Idem, P. 102.

³¹ Miskolci, 2009.

veloped concepts and methods that allowed for a more ambitious undertaking than previous theoretical undertakings from social scientists. The two philosophical works that provided the foundation for queer theory were Foucault's *History of Sexuality: The Will to Know* (1976) and Derrida's *Of Grammatology* (1976), both published in English in the same year.

Using Foucault and Derrida as a foundation, theorists like Eve K. Sedgwick, David M. Halperin, Judith Butler, and Michael Warner began to undertake social analyses that used Foucault to study sexuality as an historical device that still exists in modern Western societies and is characterized by sex insertion in drive systems and social regulation (Foucault, 2005, p. 99–100)³². Queer studies highlights the centrality of social mechanisms related to the operation of the heterosexual-homosexual binary and the organization of contemporary social life, giving more critical attention to a policy of knowledge and to difference. In the words of sociologist Steven Seidman, queer studies “of that knowledge and those social practices that organized “society” as a whole, sexualizing as heterosexual or homosexual bodies, desires, acts, identities, social relations, knowledge, culture, and social institutions”³³. Queer theorists understand sexuality as power. A device is a heterogeneous set of discourses and social practices, a true network that is established between diverse elements, including literature, science, institutions, and moral propositions. Originating predominantly from cultural studies, queer theorists have dedicated a significant amount of attention to discursive analysis of films, and to artistic and media works in general. Although queer theory will not be associated with the study of desire and sexuality, in recent years intensified forms as studies in this line, point to the articulation of multiple differences in social practices. Hence, contemporary interpretations of “queer” act as a critical response to globalization and North American models of sexual identity, but also to liberal feminism and assimilationist gay culture³⁴; in other words, queer theory resists Americanization and the white, hetero-gay and colonial world.³⁵

Given the focus on desire and sexuality in the development of queer theory, some question whether it is distinct from the sociology of sexuality in general. To begin with, neither set of theories is institutionalized, and so do not have canonical forms, which makes discussion of their similarities and differences difficult. However, I can make a cautious observation that both sociology of sexuality and queer theory seek to understand sexuality as a social construct, but do so from different perspectives, and use distinct methodological procedures. These differences impact not only the results of the research, but also scientific and institutional definitions of queer theory and sociology.

Sociologists and other social scientists often took heterosexuality as a given, and abandoned socially hegemonic models, which resulted in critical research on sexual behavior, relationships between men and women, and the social construction of masculinity and femininity. However, using normative forms of relationships as a starting point tended to reinforce the positive provisions of sexuality denounced by Foucault, and provide a language that often approached an updated sexology. Queer theory focuses on theoretical analysis of speech, producing sexual knowledge using a deconstructionist method. Instead of focusing research on the social construction of identity and examining sexual behaviors empirically to classify or understand them, queer studies problematizes subjects as unstable and focuses instead on qualifying social, creating a hierarchy, and normalizing social strategies of behavior. By questioning the coherence and stability that characterize the constructivist model and provide a comprehensive and standardized framework of sexuality, queer theory provides a sharp look at the standard-setting social processes that create classifications and in turn generate the illusion of a stable subject with consistent social identities and behaviors.

³² The list of Queer theorists is extensive and there are difficult to place names, such as the cultural anthropologist Gayle Rubin. His *Thinking Sex* (1984) is one of Queer references, but the author distances himself from textual analysis objects and various methodological procedures associated with them.

³³ Seidman, 1996, p.13

³⁴ Preciado, 2007, p. 387

³⁵ Idem, p. 400

3.1 Bourdieu and Gender

Inspired by Bourdieu's unique research on gender in social classes, this chapter attempts to examine the efficacy of three of Bourdieu's key concepts: capital, field, and habitus.³⁶ For explaining gender and embodiment on social class in Brazil contemporary, it was considered how the gender-habitus-field complex illustrates the "invisibility" of gender classification, for example, being a woman in each class.

For many years, Pierre Bourdieu had little to say about women or gender, with most of his writing dealing predominantly with class structure. However, in *La domination masculine*, Bourdieu (2002) draws upon his ethnographic research with the Kabyle people of North Africa to show how "masculine domination assumes a natural, self-evident status through its inscription in the objective structures of the social world," which is then embodied and reproduced in the habitus of individuals³⁷. Although the Kabyle culture could be called "peasant culture," and his data were gathered during the 1960s, Bourdieu claims the results of his research exemplify the ways in which gender hierarchies are maintained in contemporary industrial society. He refers that the feminine being as being perceived, and shows that everything in the genesis of the female habitus and in the social conditions of its realization competes to make the feminine experience of the body the limit of the universal body-to-other experience. He also emphasizes that the perceived body is doubly socially determined.

Bourdieu closes the second chapter of *La domination masculine* by presenting "the feminine vision of the masculine vision" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 69) and emphasizes that it is through he who holds the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence within the family that the psychosomatic action that leads to the somatization of the law is exercised. He also speaks of adherence to the order of things, of the principle of affective tendencies attributed to women in the division of domination, and of the differential socialization that predisposes men to love power games and women to love men who play them (Bourdieu, 2002).

According to McLeod (2005, p. 53), Bourdieu "writes defensively" in *La domination masculine*, and

[...] appears somewhat oblivious to the diverse range of important feminist work that has historicized gender division. Moreover, his insights into gender reproduce standard binaries of masculine domination and female subordination as if these structures are unitary, coherent and unchanged by and in contemporary social life.

Despite such criticisms, some feminists – including Adkins (2003), Fowler (1997), Krais (2006), Lovell (2000), McCall (1992), McLeod (2005), McNay (1999; 2000), Moi (1991), Walby (2005), and Skeggs (1997; 2004) – recognize the potential in Bourdieu's social theory for "deepening and developing" feminist theorizing, and set about rethinking, critically developing, and using his conceptual schema. Eventually, this discussion leads Bourdieu to offer a new way to productively conceptualize the relationship between gender, power, structure, agency, reflexivity, culture, and identity in the day-to-day education of children (both daughters and sons). Bourdieu challenged many dualisms, including theory and empirical work: in his own words, "research without theory is blind, and theory without research is empty" (Bourdieu; Wacquant, 1992).

The following discussion of the gendering of capital, field, and habitus, and the subsequent examination of the gender-habitus-field complex, is the result of an ongoing dialogue between theoretical knowledge and cultural knowledge, gained from previous and current cultural participation combined with multiple modes of data generation.

³⁶ Szemani; Kaposy, 2011

³⁷ Huppatz, 2012

3.2 Habitus and Gender

“Habitus” refers to a set of acquired schemes or dispositions, perceptions and appreciations, including tastes, which orient our practices and give them meaning³⁸. The habitus is both a “structured structure” – the effect of the actions of, and our interactions with, others – and a “structuring structure.” It both suggests and constrains our actions. In other words, habitus is both the “embodiment of our social location” (i.e., class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, gender, generation, and nationality), and “the structure of social relations that generate and give significance to individual likes (or tastes) and dislikes with regard to practice and action.” Critically, the habitus is embodied – that is, “located within the body and affects every aspect of human embodiment”³⁹.

Bourdieu generally uses the term “hexis” when referring to the embodied nature of the habitus. Hexis signifies “deportment, the manner and style in which actors ‘carry themselves’: stance, gait, gesture, etc⁴⁰”. Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and hexis have the potential to help us understand the ways in which embodied practices construct identity differences and support the given social order in the mother/daughter transmittal of gender inequality.

Gender habitus develops through practical engagement with the culture of gender inequality. The distinctive practices of a gender habitus are imprinted and encoded in a socializing process that commences during early entry into the education system, starting from informal lessons with family members and continuing in school, church, and other institutions. It is during this socialization process that the “practical transmission” of “knowledge” via comments from instructors and peers, personal observations, and various media becomes embodied. The “soul of being women” constitutes what Bourdieu (1977) calls “cultural unconscious,” and it comes via attitudes, abilities, knowledge, themes, and problems – in short, the whole system of categories of perception and thought acquired by a systematic social apprenticeship. Simply put, the habitus (or “cultural unconscious”) derives from a systematic cultural apprenticeship, and the longer one spends immersed in the culture the more ingrained this habitus becomes. The socially constructed habitus of many core boarders is also generative; that is, it is a primary influence on education practices. For example, choices of school, clothes for girls, how women behave, are made on the basis of practically oriented dispositions that have already been inscribed in the body and subsequently take place without overt conscious awareness of the principles that guide them.

Culture is, therefore, a productive locus of a particular sex habitus. For Bourdieu (1971, p. 194), culture gives rise to “patterns of thought which organize reality by directing and organizing thinking about reality.” Importantly, habitus not only helps reveal how inequality is embodied, but also how it is taken for granted when social inequalities are embedded in everyday practices.

While habitus is a complex and multi-layered concept, Bourdieu is not always clear about the social or spatial boundaries of habitus formation — in other words, how we might identify the scale at which the habitus of a group or collective is defined. Bourdieu’s unwillingness to specify the objective structures he believes generate a habitus can lead to problems in its operationalization. McRobbie (2009) admits finding analyses of the “intersections and flows between and across so many fields and so many habitus” methodologically overwhelming. Despite recognizing the virtue in Bourdieu’s schema for “bringing together” micro-logical analyses of particular fields with macro-sociological analyses of wider social, cultural, and political fields, he warns of the tendency to “get lost” in a proliferation of fields. In the case of gender identity, for example, which set of conditions most strongly influences the formation of a girl habitus? Is it the local (geography, climate, peer group), global (mass media), or cultural (class/milieu) environment? On the other hand, perhaps Bourdieu’s argument that theory should provide “thinking tools” to be deployed in empirical situations (rather than a clearly defined explanatory framework) ameliorates the confusion and leaves open a set of possibilities concerning the identification of habitus in a particular field. While the definitions of “group” and “field” may be almost infinite, we focus on the women-to-women gender in each milieu.

Another area requiring sustained reflection is the intersection between habitus and gender. Throughout his work, Bourdieu was cognizant of the fact that men and women use and manage their bodies in very different ways in most cultures. Yet, it was not until late in his career that he attempted to explain how this

³⁸ Bourdieu; Wacquant, 1992

³⁹ Shilling, 1993, p. 129

⁴⁰ Jenkins, 2002, p. 75

type of learning, which affects men and women's perceptions of their bodies and selves, does not occur at the cognitive level but at the bodily level. That is to say, Bourdieu was concerned with how gendered norms – in particular, gender inequality – become embodied. The concept of habitus is central here.

Gendered habitus broadly refers to the social construction of masculinity and femininity that shapes the body, defines how the body is perceived, forms the body's habits and possibilities for expression, and thus determines the individual's identity – via the body – as masculine or feminine (Krais, 2006). According to Bourdieu (1997), gender is an “absolutely fundamental dimension of the habitus that, like the sharps and clefs in music, modifies all the social qualities that are connected to the fundamental social factors.” Put slightly differently, the gender-specificity of habitus is among the fundamental elements of a person's identity primarily because it “touches the individual in an aspect of his/her self that is generally seen as ‘pure nature’: the body.” Indeed, it is with this bodily reference that gender differentiation becomes “deeply and firmly” anchored in the habitus.

Since a central element of Bourdieu's work is his argument that habitus develops in response to field, it seems logical to ask which field is responsible for the development of a gendered habitus. For Bourdieu (1985), the habitus, which “at every moment, structures new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences” is

[...] modified by new experiences... [to] bring about a unique integration. Early experiences, however, have particular weight because the habitus tends to ensure its own constancy and its defense against change through the selection it makes within new information by rejecting information capable of calling into question its accumulated information”.

He views the dispositions that make up gendered habitus as the products of opportunities and constraints framing the individual's early life experiences. They are “durably inculcated by the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in the objective conditions” (Bourdieu, 1992).

Confusion occurs, however, when we try to understand how this gendered habitus, instilled from an early age, intersects with the woman habitus, embodied later in life. The weight of past experiences or, rather, the gendered habitus instilled from childhood, continues to influence the way some women think about their bodies; cognitive dissonance arises in the process of mediating new social messages about the potential of the female body with deeply entrenched gendered habitus. Habitus is therefore context specific. Women will inevitably have different experiences based on the gendered habitus instilled during childhood in different historical periods and in different social, cultural, and political contexts.

According to McNay (1999), a particular strength of habitus is that it introduces a temporal dimension to an understanding of the body that is missing in many accounts of gender. However, while the “praxeological notion of time embedded in the concept of habitus” highlights the “uncertainties inherent in even the most routine act of reproduction,” it also “underscores the entrenched nature of normative social identity” (McNay, 1999, p. 103). Gendered habitus comprises a “layer of embodied experience that is not immediately amenable to self-fashioning.” The concept of habitus draws our attention to the ways in which gendered values and expectations are imprinted on our bodies. In Bourdieu's original theory, he sees little room for change or resistance to gender norms. In *La domination masculine*, he describes women “condemned” to participate in symbolic violence of gender and compelled to adhere to structures and agents of domination (2002).

A common criticism of Bourdieu's work is that its implied determinism seems particularly relevant in the context of his discussion of habitus and gender. It is frequently argued that Bourdieu's conceptual schema reveals an “impoverished, two-dimensional model of individuals and agency” (Jenkins, 2002, p. 93). Bourdieu (1985) emphasizes social reproduction and the degree to which it affects an individual's ability to exercise agency. Arguably, this leads him inexorably into deterministic explanations, such as the following:

The social world is, to a large extent, what the agents make of it, at each moment; but they have no chance of unmaking it and re-making it, except on the basis of realistic knowledge of what it is and what they can do from the position they occupy within it.

Women's explanations for their embodied and reflexive practices would be of little concern to Bourdieu. For him, the actors' own explanations of their practices tend to be an illusion; the true explanation of behaviour exists in the habitus. McCall (1992) argues that Bourdieu stops short of realizing the potential of gendered dispositions because he considers female gender status imbued only with social practices.

3.3 Capital and Gender

The concept of capital sits at the center of Bourdieu's (1986) construction of social space: "the structure of the social world is defined at every moment by the structure and distribution of the capital and profits characteristic of the different particular fields" (p. 734) and it is important to work out the correct hierarchy "of the different forms of capital" (p. 737). Capital refers to the different forms of power held by social agents. Bourdieu identifies various forms of capital (power), including economic (wealth), social (connections), cultural (artistic, taste), symbolic (prestige), linguistic (vocabulary and pronunciation), academic (tertiary qualifications), and corporeal (e.g., physical attractiveness). The power of an agent to accumulate various forms of capital, and to define those forms as legitimate, is proportionate to the agent's position in the social space.

According to Bourdieu, women are not typically capital-accumulating subjects. Rather, they are "capital bearing objects" whose value accrues to the primary groups to which they belong (husband and family). Feminist scholars, however, maintain that some women do pursue capital accumulating-strategies (see Adkins 1999; Lawler, 2000; Lury, 1999; Moi, 1991; and Skeggs, 1994).

Symbolic capital is another distinction in Bourdieu's concept of capital. It is a unique form of motivation, a resource, a reward closely tied up with the concepts of status, lifestyle, honour, and prestige. Symbolic capital is assessed in terms of style, commitment, abilities on challenging terrain, and difficulty and range of maneuvers. While some economic capital is necessary for participating in a better education in Brazil, individuals cannot buy their way into the core of the culture. Bourdieu (1980) notes that to "make one's name" means making one's *mark*, achieving recognition (in both senses) of one's difference from others [...] (p. 289). Thus, the relationship between economic capital and cultural capital is more complex than a direct exchange.

While symbolic, cultural, and economic capital are central to the structuring of Bourdieu's concept of social space, gender does not appear in his fundamental structuring principles. Bourdieu (1980, p. 245) briefly acknowledges "certain women derive occupational profit from their charm(s), and that beauty thus acquires a value on the labour market." He paid little attention to the relationship between gender and capital, and generally did not consider gender to be a form of capital. For Kay and Laberge (2002), Bourdieu's (1984) treatment of gender as a "secondary" constituent of social division contradicts claims elsewhere in his work that gender is a major principle of social stratification.

Since the early 1990s, however, a number of feminist scholars have argued that women not only accumulate capital, but also possess their own *feminine* forms of capital (Huppatz, 2012; Lovell, 2000; McCall, 1992; Skeggs, 1994). According to Skeggs (1994), femininity is embodied, but it is also a learned competency and thus may operate as a form of capital. Femininity, as cultural capital, is

[...] the discursive position available through gender relations that women are encouraged to inhabit and use. Its use will be informed by the network of social positions of class, gender, sexuality, region, age and race which ensure that it will be taken up (and resisted) in different ways (Skeggs, 1994, p. 10).

Also arguing for a positive engagement between Bourdieu's social theory and contemporary feminist theory, Lovell (2000) believes femininity, as a form of cultural capital, has increasing currency in the contemporary labour market. Building upon earlier feminist work, Huppatz recently distinguished between "*female* capital" (the gender advantage derived from being perceived to have a female [but not necessarily feminine] body) and "*feminine* capital" (the gender advantage derived from a disposition or skill set learned via socialization). Feminine capital exists when members of a particular field recognize their bodies as feminine and capitalize on their femaleness and femininity within particular occupations (e.g., paid caring work) to gain an income. It is important to note, however, that while the traditional feminine ideal continues to be encouraged and venerated in certain fields, notions of culturally valuable forms of femininity are

constantly evolving, and differ within and across fields; women wield femininity and femaleness as forms of capital in an array of innovative ways within different social fields (e.g., family, workforce, education, sport).

Certainly, abundant evidence demonstrates femininity as a potential form of cultural capital in the Brazilian field, where women learn about the “importance” of their bodies and how to behave like a “woman.” Based on several works, one would have thought that the issue of gender has been thoroughly investigated, in its historical emergence, and questioned from the political point of view by numerous social movements in different countries. Particularly, in recent decades, we have seen the emergence of feminine/feminist discourse: a series of universal about womanhood, motherhood, female relationships with men, children’s education, female adolescence, family life, sexuality, affectivity, careers, physical fitness, body care, age, and desire. In this work, the idea is to precisely describe what forms of femininity are reinforced, imagined, streamlined, and built into the culture through basic/informal education.

More than fifty years ago, Simone de Beauvoir (1980) shook the dust off intellectual circles with the phrase: “Nobody is born a woman: we (she/he) becomes a woman.” The expression made an impact and spread all over the world. Women of different positions from militants and scholars began to repeat it to indicate that their way of being and being in the world was not the result of a single, inaugural act, but that instead it was a construction. To become a woman depended on the marks, the gestures, the behaviors, the preferences, and the dislikes that were taught to them and reiterated, daily, according to norms and values of a given culture. Beauvoir observed that women have been historically defined in discourses that describe an eternal and universal “female nature.” The French feminist writer sought to understand that social places belonged to men and that places belonged to women, myths, biological destinies, conditions of being, social positions, circumscribe the figure of man and the figure of woman. Among other aspects, Beauvoir sought to understand these differences in terms of education and childhood, relationship with parents, and stages of the human life cycle. Seeing that women were always treated as Other, as secondary (hence the title *The Second Sex*) Beauvoir realized that the differences between men and women were produced and maintained in the social and cultural spheres. In this way, she states that one becomes a woman or becomes a man, since a series of cultural meanings are inscribed in a given sex (male or female).

The key dilemma in this dissertation is that in the male-dominated structure of education, whenever a woman gains capital in one area, she tends to lose it in others. For example, women choosing to prioritize feminine capital are often written-off as *gostosa* meaning “hot,” “good mother,” “ready to marry,” while those who prioritize “masculine” capital, positioning themselves in opposition to the culturally valued discourse of stereotypical femininity, may experience other ideological constraints.

According to Bourdieu, it is common for women to experience a “double bind” when attempting to access power: “If they behave like men, they risk losing the obligatory attributes of ‘femininity’ and call into question the natural right of men to the positions of power; if they behave like women, they appear incapable and unfit for the job” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 67). In contemporary Brazilian society, however, some women appear to be overcoming this quandary by blurring the boundaries that divide the two. Indeed, opportunities to transfer cultural capital into economic capital currently abound for a select few women who are able to accumulate both symbolic capital and feminine capital. For example, some women are profiting from their investments in femininity in the snowboarding field. But, as a number of feminist scholars proclaim, feminine capital is a limited currency and “always operates within constraints” (Huppertz, *idem*, p. 61).

It is not always easy to distinguish the difference between women’s “capital accumulating strategies” and the use of women by others as bearers of capital value. Women’s investment in feminine capital may appear to be nothing more than another example of women functioning to produce and reproduce social capital, creating ties between men which serve men’s interests. However, we should take care not to overlook or misinterpret practices in which women are active agents with stakes in the field and, therefore, in large part self interested.

Perhaps Bourdieu had difficulty explaining women’s capital preferences and accumulating abilities because, despite recognizing that women play a significant role in the processes of the gendered accumulation of capital, he rarely considered women as subjects with capital-accumulating strategies of their own. Drawing on the work of feminist scholars, however, we are encouraged to (re)consider the kinds of “investment strategies” women follow in particular circumstances. Indeed, in this work we employ a feminist interpretation of Bourdieu’s habitus-field nexus and, in so doing, recognize agency and reflexivity as central to

understanding both young women's capital accumulating strategies, and how they negotiate their gendered habitus across different fields.

There needs to be more sustained attention to the gendered dimensions of Bourdieu's notion of capital as it offers a powerful resource for theorizing relations of power and privilege in contemporary society and physical activities. Research regarding the various kinds of "capital" possessed by women, the composition of female capital, progression, and control, however, must be relative to historical and cultural contexts, and to the positions occupied by women within particular fields.

"Field" refers to a structured system of social positions occupied by either individuals or institutions engaged in the same activity. Fields are structured internally in terms of power relations. "In order for a field to function, there have to be stakes and people prepared to play the game, endowed with the habitus that implies knowledge and recognition of the immanent laws of the field, the stakes, and so on" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 72). Within each field, individuals and groups preserve the configuration of power. These groups of women of different classes share the same space and comply with the same set of rules (e.g., schools, kindergartens, work, public space). Outside of the field, each woman has her own institutions (e.g., associations, media, etc.), cultural rules, knowledge, practices, abilities, bodily dispositions, styles, and dress codes, reinforcing the position of "established" groups and the marginal status of "outsider" groups.

Although Bourdieu fails to consider the full implications of the concept of field in his work on gender, other theorists have claimed it has the potential to illuminate some of the "complexity and multi-layeredness" of relations between the sexes in contemporary social life. For example, Kraus (2005, p. 6) argues that gender does not constitute a specific social field, as it is sometimes assumed, but "enters into the 'game' of different social fields in ways specific to each field." Rather than a specific, autonomous field, gender is far better conceptualized as "part of a field" because gender is "extraordinarily relational, with a chameleon-like flexibility, shifting in importance, value and effects from context to context or from field to field". Thus, while all fields contain and enforce a set of gender rules, some of these rules may be common to many other fields, whereas others may be specific to that field. However, these fields are not identical. They have distinctive histories, environments, geographies, identities, and development patterns, as well as gender norms.

What are the legitimate forms of femininity (and masculinity) and how do they differ among classes or milieus? In his examination of the interaction of gender and social group distinctions, Bourdieu claims that gender is a secondary principle of division. In Bourdieu's own words: "sexual properties are as inseparable from class properties as the yellowness of a lemon is from its acidity: a class is defined in an essential respect by the place and value it gives to the two sexes and to their socially constituted dispositions" (1984, p. 107). Put simply, class and gender are always intimately connected. This is why "there are as many ways of realizing femininity as there are classes and class fractions" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 109). The interactions between men and women, and the most valued types of capital, vary between and within different classes or groups (e.g., core, weekend-warriors, novices, and pro-hos, conquest, etc.).

It is important to note that gender relations are variable across the spectrum of mother-daughter education. Embodied educational practices suggest that an individual's initial capital is gender-neutral, then fundamentally defined by their relative position in the structure, based on ability, commitment to an activity, and lifestyle.

As illustrated by the "core" female, "novices," "girlies," and "pro-hos," the legitimate forms of femininity, preferred forms of capital (e.g., symbolic, gender), and gender relations, differ among groups. Of the various groups, it seems that "core" females have the most space to define and redefine cultural meanings pertaining to the female boarding body within the contemporary fields. Yet the rules structuring snowboarding culture and the gender relations within it are not fixed but contested by those within the field. Moreover, these struggles are not solely between men and women, but also between women (and between men) occupying different spaces within a field.

Thus, in contrast to the theory of social stratification (i.e., gender order), Bourdieu's conceptual schema moves beyond gender. As a result, a notion of differentiation was introduced into our understanding of the social construction of gender identities: masculinity and femininity can be seen as imbricated in complex ways rather than as opposed and separate categories (McNay, 1999).

4 SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

4.1 Habitualization and gender

According to Bourdieu, the body appears as an entity – a physical and symbolic artifact produced both naturally and culturally and situated in a concrete historic moment and in a particular culture. The body experiences, in the phenomenological sense, distinct sensations, pleasures, and pains, and society imposes agreements and “psico-legal” and coercive practices. All social activity is experienced by the body, a body that thinks and feels. For Bourdieu, socialization tends to make a progressive somatization of gender relations of domination. This teaching inculcates at the same time sexually differentiated and sexually differentiating notions of the body, imposing “manliness” on the bodies of males and “femininity” on the bodies of females. Thus, the somatization of the cultural will also become a permanent construction of the unconscious. According to Bourdieu, the person is confronted with a contradiction between the subjective and the objective that has to do “spontaneously” that require you to their social conditions. The habitus tends to produce aspirations and actions compatible with the cultural prescription and with the requirements and objectives of social circumstances.

If we compare the theories of Butler and Bourdieu, we see that both believe the essential differences between women and men obey deep immersion in the cultural and historical specificities of the genre. The social order “naturalizes” (meaning it disguises) its own arbitrariness as “natural” by a dialectic of subjective aspirations and objective structures. In their interpretative readings of the speech and behavior of human beings, Bourdieu and Butler advocate political action as an option. Butler underlines the scale of individual transformation, while Bourdieu speaks of a symbolic revolution that questions the very foundations of production and reproduction of symbolic capital and points out that women’s liberation can only be achieved through collective action – a symbolic struggle capable of challenging in practice the immediate agreement of the incarnated and objective structures.

The success of Butler’s work is rooted in her intelligent deconstruction. Her positions resulted in two new front lines of argument on which feminism built its interpretations of sex/gender/identity conflicts. One of these lines argues that sexual difference is related to body experience, and emphasizes that this is something specific for women because of their sexual being and maternal role. This line reproduces the conventional design of the body/mind distinction in the use of sex/gender. Biology is thought of as a material on which symbolization unfolds in prescriptions on the “own” men and “own” women. However, the way in which the biological data is symbolized in the unconscious is not taken into consideration.

Butler (1988) builds her speech with theatrical and *performative* connotations and uses philosophical jargon to endorse her feminist proposal to distinguish the biological body from the gender behavior it hosts. Although resume positions of Freud and Lacan, are based more on criticisms of psychoanalytic theorists like Kristeva, Irigaray, and Witting, a substantial part of her argument has echoes of French authors such as Mauss and Bourdieu (whom she does not mention), who share similar conceptual formulations. Differentiation of body and gender means eliminating the binary framework that is thought to describe gender, but they did not have the same cultural impact as Butler, who was immediately converted into an intellectual totem.

If *Gender Trouble*⁴¹ brought a range of admirers, it also garnered a lot of criticism as a result of its definition of gender as fundamentally “performance” (meaning an act whose coercive and fictitious condition lends itself to subversion), setting aside the body. Therefore, in *Bodies that Matter* (1993), Butler responded to criticism by saying that while working with gender is a strategy to resist essentialism, “the body counts” (Butler, 1993, p.). Butler was a break in the feminist discourse on gender, which, at the time concentrated

⁴¹ Butler, 1990

on the discussion of the consequences of gender, forming a theorizing corpus and concerning itself with partial postulates and almost exclusively with the socialization process. However, although Butler breaks with the line that privileges the social without displaying the psychic, she fails to convey the complexity of the acquisition by gender-sexed bodies in a culture.

Socialization is learning (Charon, 1987). Socialization refers to all learning regardless of setting or age of the learner. Socialization is the process by which we learn the ways of a particular group. In every group members have to learn the rules, expectations, and truths, whether the group is one's family, the army, or the state (nation). Socialization is the process whereby people acquire personality and learn the way of life of their society. Essentially, one has to "learn the culture." Learning culture encompasses all the truths, values, rules, and goals that people share with one another. Culture is a shared perspective in each milieu. The most important socialization occurs between the ages of one and ten. We obviously learn throughout our lives, but this first ten years is the most important in determining who we are for the rest of our lives.

In order to survive socially, every agent (individual or group) must participate in a game that imposes sacrifices. In this game, some of us believe in free will, others in determinism. But for Bourdieu, we are neither one nor the other; rather, we are the product of deep structures. We have in us generating and organizing principles of our practices and representations, our actions and thoughts. For this reason Bourdieu does not work with the concept of the "subject." He prefers "agent." Individuals are agents because they act and they know. They are endowed with a practical sense, and acquire a system of preferences, ratings, and perception (Bourdieu, 1996). Social agents (individuals or groups) incorporate a generator habitus (arrangements acquired by experience) that vary in time and space (Bourdieu, 2004). From cradle to grave we absorb (restructure) our habitus, conditioning the newest acquisition by the oldest. We perceive, think, and act within the narrow liberty given by the logic of the field and the position that we occupy. From this perspective, gender relations permeate, dynamically, the fabric of society, manifesting in specific ways in different social groups, while maintaining generally the hierarchy as a trademark. In the words of Lavinias (1997, p. 16): "...the social sex – so the genre – is one of the structural relations which places the individual in the world and determines the course of your life, opportunities, choices, paths, experiences, places, interests." Gender relations can be found in the spaces of everyday living, particularly the family and the neighborhood. Boys and girls learn and internalize its kind, according to what the local society or milieu calls for it.

In this sense, daily family life is strongly influenced by gender organization that extends beyond the domestic space, but manifests itself markedly in intra-family relations. Thus, gender hierarchy permeates times and routines, games and activities, prospects and future projects, reproducing gender roles prevailing in the social group. Consequently, gender relations are always situated in specific social contexts, which demarcate spaces, delimit possibilities, and configure matrices or models of interaction between people, applying pressure on those who transgress and subvert the structure. Limitations, for example, are revealed by the difference between the possibilities available to working-class adolescents and those available to others of medium or high strata of the same society. With such limited prospects in life and education, it is not surprising that gender inequalities have greater weight in low-income populations.

It is noteworthy, therefore, that gender relations and social class express power relations, which are not always experienced in a reflexive manner, despite the contradictions and hierarchies believed to be relevant. Therefore, childhood and adolescence not only social constructs always mediated by the socio-cultural dimension, but a definition of the key stage of social habitus understood as the symbolic universe that generates the peculiar style of thinking and acting individual.

When assessing the issue of gender and socialization, it is relevant to point out the articulation of three theoretical axes developed by Elias (1994): power, knowledge, and modes of subjectivity. It should be noted that power is considered by the author not as a thing but as something relational, i.e., part of all human relationships. There was criticism of the fact that sociologists give the term "power" a connotation usually restricted to the field of politics and relations between social classes, while neglecting the study of the dynamic balance of power between the sexes and between generations, despite its relevance in shaping social and family structure. Symbolic universes run through the modes of subjectivity of children and adolescents, as it is in their daily lives that they experience gender relations in specific social contexts that enable, through critical questioning of such experiences, the possibilities for new ways of reframing gender.

Bourdieu argues that agents and dominant institutions tend to inculcate the dominant culture in order to reproduce the habitus and social inequalities in the ways of speaking, working, and judging. For him, the family, the school, and mass media not only reproduce social inequalities, but unsuspectingly legitimize this reproduction. Inequality does not reside in access to the field, but at the core of the system itself. Social life is governed by the specific interests of the field, by *doxa* on what matters, both in the sense of what has value (that is, what is the specific capital of the field), and in the sense of what is true under the rules of the game in a particular field. Each field has an interest that is fundamental and common to all agents. This interest is linked to the very existence of the field (survival), the various forms of capital, i.e., the useful features in the determination and reproduction of social positions (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu describes the capital/economic concept in which capital is accumulated by investment operations, transmitted by heritage, and played according to the ability of the holder to invest. The accumulation of various forms of capital is achieved by investment of surplus value extraction, etc. The concept of capital is complex. Besides the economic capital, comprising material wealth, money, stocks etc. (goods, assets, work), Bourdieu considers:

- Cultural capital, which includes knowledge, skills, and information, corresponding to the number of produced and transmitted by the family intellectual skills and the educational institutions, in three forms: the corporate state as durable body disposal (e.g., how to perform in public); the goal state, such as possession of cultural goods (for example, the ownership of works of art); the institutionalized state (e.g., academic degrees), sanctioned by institutions such as colleges and universities;
- Social capital, corresponding to the set of social access, comprising relationships and networking; and
- Symbolic capital, corresponding to social recognition of rituals, and comprising prestige, honor etc. Symbolic capital is a synthesis of the others (cultural, economic, and social).

Ask yourself as signed up, were represented and “normalized” femininity and masculinity can be explored through an analysis of symbolic practices and cultural mechanisms that reproduce power from the axis of sexual difference. This requires unraveling meanings and stereotypical metaphors, questioning the canon and regulative fictions, criticizing tradition, and re-signifying. However, the deconstruction of the social and cultural processes that characterize gender also requires an understanding of psychological mediations and an in-depth analysis of the construction of the subject. Therefore, it is necessary to study not just the concept of gender as performance, as acting with a degree of individual creation, but the Lacanian interpretation of the construction of the subject as well.

4.2 Primary habitus

The concept of habitus has a long history (e.g., writings of Aristotle, Boetius, Averroes, Thomas Aquinas, Hegel, Mauss, Husserl, Heidegger, and Merleau-Ponty). The definition adopted by Bourdieu was thought of as an expedient to escape the objectivist paradigm of structuralism without falling into the philosophy of the subject and consciousness. Heidegger’s (1995) notion of “way-of-being in the world” has its own characteristics. Heidegger’s phenomenological inquiry is of an ontological character, that is, it seeks the essential determinations of the being of beings. In this way, it always intends to lie below the empirical or ontic plane (of the entities) and to constitute itself in the condition of possibility of the same. Thus the ontological structures explicit in the analysis of *dasein* (such as occupation, disposition, understanding, discourse) are not to be confused with those which would be their ontological or empirical correlates (affection, desire, knowledge, language) – indeed, such structures are the existential basis of the same.

For Bourdieu, the habitus is a personal system comprised of ways of perceiving, feeling, doing, and thinking that lead us to act in a certain way in a given circumstance. These dispositions and outcomes are neither mechanical nor deterministic. They are flexible and they can be strong or weak, conditioned on the natural ability to acquire non-natural, arbitrary characteristics (Bourdieu, 2001). They are acquired by the internalization of social structures. Individual and collective histories are so internalized that the bearers ignore their existence. There are unconscious bodily and mental routines that allow us to act without thinking. They are the product of a learning process of which we are no longer aware, expressed by an attitude that it is “natural” to conduct ourselves in a certain way.

The habitus is, according to Bourdieu himself (1979), a “class unconsciousness” which, for the less-favored classes, manifests in inaction and the reproduction of existing living conditions. With these examples show that the most psycho – of the concept of habitus incorporate the ideas of Kohn, mentioned above, although this author does not part of Bourdieu’s theoretical sources: the habitus would explain conformism and submission to the authority of subaltern classes and the autonomy or self-direction of the dominant classes. The term “habitus” is used to establish the way concepts such as habit, custom, practice, and tradition mediate between structure and action. It denotes the system of durable and transferable provisions, which acts as a generator and organizing principle for practices and representations associated with a particular class of conditions. The habitus generates a logical, practical rationality, irreducible to theoretical reason. It is acquired by social interaction and, at the same time, the classifier, and the organizer of this interaction. It is a conditioning of our actions. It is the process whereby people learn the attitudes, values, and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture.

Anticipatory socialization refers to the processes of socialization in which a person “rehearses” for future positions, occupations, and social relationships (see Applebaum year; Chambliss, 1997). Henslin (2004, p. 71) offers the example of a high school student who, upon hearing he had been accepted to a university, begins to wear college-student-type clothes.

The mental structures through which agents perceive society are the product of the internalization of social learning, and they generate worldviews (Bourdieu, 1987). That is how habitus is part of our body and our mind in objectified states. It is through this process that the habitus creates regular conduits, which forecast practices – “things that do” and “things are not done” in a given field (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 95). It is through this process that we learn to anticipate our future in accordance with the experience of our habitus, and, therefore, we do not want that in our social group, appears as highly unlikely (Bonnewitz, 2002).

The habitus is both individual and collective, and for that we want to analyze in this study the peculiarity between gender and social class. As a generating and unifying principle of collectivity, Bourdieu (2005) retranslates intrinsic and rational characteristics of a position and lifestyle unit as “habitus of affinities” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 182). The habitus is differentiated and are differentiating; that is, it operates with distinctions (Bourdieu, 1996). The concept of habitus denotes a medium between objective structures and individual behavior, insofar as the habitus has been deposited in the individual members of the collective group or fraction of society in the form of durable arrangements such as mental structures (Bourdieu, 1984). The habitus is an internalization of social objectivity that produces an externalization of interiority. Not only is it registered in the individual, but in the individual’s particular social universe: a milieu that circumscribes a specific habitus (Bourdieu, 2001).

4.3 Gendered Habitus

Gendered habitus broadly refers to the social construction of femininity and masculinity that shapes the body and performances. It delineates how male and female bodies are perceived, comprises the body’s habits and possibilities for expression, and thus determines the individual’s identity – via the body – as “masculine” or “feminine.”

I use Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, practice, and field for two reasons: firstly, to discuss the production of gendered habitus and gendered practice; and secondly, because it will enable me to explore the question of the capacity of humans to change such deeply internalized aspects of their lives as their gendered habitus. Henslin contends: “an important part of socialization is the learning of culturally defined gender roles” (1999, p. 76). Gender socialization refers to the learning of behavior and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex. Boys learn what is “appropriate” to do as boys and girls learn, as well, what is “appropriate” to perform as girls. This process of “learning” happens by way of many different agents of socialization. The family is certainly important in reinforcing gender roles, but so are friends, school, work, and media for each specific social class. Gender roles are reinforced through countless experiences and in not-so-understated ways.

Bourdieu is perhaps the social scientist who most carefully analyzed the process of constitution and internalization. From his early ethnographic work on the Berbers of Cabalia (2003) to his later reflections, and in particular in his seminal work *The Practical Sense* (1991), Bourdieu argued that all knowledge rests on a fundamental operative division: the opposition between feminine and masculine. The way people learn this division is through everyday activities imbued with symbolic meaning; that is, through practice. Estab-

lished as an objective set of references, the everyday concepts of feminine and masculine are the concrete and symbolic organization of all social life. With his study of Cabilia, Bourdieu offers examples of pairs of antonyms similar to female and male: wet and dry, hot and cold, light and dark, high and low, stretched and shrunk, noisy and quiet, etc.

Bourdieu takes up part of the work of his master, Mauss, who wrote: “the body is the first instrument of man and the most natural, or more specifically, not to mention instruments, we say the object and a half more normal technical man is his body” (Mauss, 1974, p.). In his 1936 essay on the topic of techniques and body movements, Mauss (1936, p.) states: “the fundamental education of these techniques is to adapt the body to their uses.” He analyzes the division of body techniques between sexes, and not simply the division of labor between the sexes, when he says: “We met at the physical and psycho-sociological mounting a series of acts, acts that are more or less common and more or less old in human life and in the history of society” (Mauss, 1936, p. 354).

Bourdieu continued the ethnological research that Mauss began. With remarkable success he showed how sexual differences are absorbed in the set of oppositions, which organize the whole cosmos, the division of tasks, activities, and social roles. He explains how, built on sexual difference, opposites converge in mutual support for practices. Metaphorically, “natural” differences explain the “mindset.” One cannot easily be aware of why domination is at the base and appears as a consequence of a system of relations independent of power relationships.

Through his various works, Bourdieu warns that the male social order is so deeply entrenched that it requires no justification. It imposes itself as self-evident, and is considered “natural” by the agreement “almost perfect and immediate” you get from social structures such as the social organization of space and time and the social division of labor on the one hand, and the cognitive structures inscribed in bodies and minds on the other. These cognitive structures are reflected by the basic and universal mechanism of binary opposition (formation of pairs: high/low, large/small, outside/inside, straight/twisted, etc.) in “schemes not thought” in the habitus.

Bourdieu documents insistently the way male domination is anchored in our unconscious and in the symbolic structures and institutions of society. For example, he shows how the mythical ritual system, which plays a similar role to the legal system in our societies, proposes dividing principles that establish and reinforce existing separations and enshrine a patriarchal order. In his view, male effectiveness is rooted in the legitimization of domination, to inscribe it in the biological, which in itself is a social construct. At first, the author endorses the epistemological conflict already mentioned:

By being included men and women in the object we strive to understand, incorporated in the form of unconscious schemes of perception and appreciation, the historical structures of the male order; we risk then to resort to think about male domination, the ways of thinking that are themselves, domination product (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 11).

Bourdieu extends the definition proposed by Mauss and argues that the habitus is an “enduring and transferable system of schemes of perception, appreciation and action, resulting from the social institution of the bodies” (Bourdieu, 1995). He refers to the key concept of habitus as a “socialized subjectivity” (p.), with a set of historical relations “deposited” in individual bodies in the form of mental and physical schemes of perception, appreciation, and action. Culture, language, and emotional expression inculcate in people certain norms and deeply held (but tacit) values, supposedly given by “nature.” The habitus reproduces these provisions, not structured consciously, regulating and harmonizing actions. Thus, habitus becomes a retransmission mechanism for the mental structures people take from “incarnated” activity in the society. The consequences of this are brutal. Bourdieu highlights symbolic violence as an extremely effective mechanism oppressor precisely the internalization people make the genre. In his definition of symbolic violence Bourdieu incorporates Gramsci’s definition of hegemony (consent to domination), and says that we cannot understand symbolic violence unless we totally abandon scholastic distinctions between coercion and consent, external imposition and internal momentum. Bourdieu articulates the idea of hegemony, noting that gender domination is what in French is called *contrainte par corps*, or *embarrassment made by the body*.

Bourdieu’s theory assumes that individuals and the social groups they form are situated in a structured and hierarchical social space of positions, determined by the different volumes and structures of the dif-

ferent types of capital they are able to access and incorporate from their positions. Three highly valuable assets that define such “objective positions” and their related perspectives in the social world are economic, social, and cultural capital. Economic capital refers to family income, salary, assets, and any other source of financial resource the individual, or a group of individuals, can rely on. Social capital derives from the stock of social relations and acquaintances an individual is able to accumulate due to her social origins and institutions, or the social spaces wherein her life trajectory occurs, and the status and prestige drawn from this. Cultural capital derives from both the diplomas an individual has accumulated through his trajectory within the formal educational system and the intellectual and cultural dispositions, competences, and tastes incorporated through the implicit and continuous socialization within the family, community, or social class the individual has belonged to since birth (Bourdieu, 1984).

The structure and volume of these three types of capital – that is, the “objective conditions” that define many of the chances and perspectives one can be presented with in social life – are internalized through the continuous socialization of the individual. Bourdieu (1989) sees social space as a field of struggles in which actors (individuals and groups) devise strategies that allow them to maintain or improve their social position. These strategies are related to different types of capital. For example, economic capital, in the form of different factors of production (land, factories, labor) and a set of economic goods (money, materials) is accumulated, reproduced, and expanded through specific economic and other investment strategies related to cultural investments and to the attainment or maintenance of social relations that may enable the establishment of economically useful links in the short and long term.

Internalization is expressed under the form of a set of competences, inclinations, and tastes that shape a subconscious, or unconscious, principle of generation and unification of practices in the home, in schools, in the consumption of culture, in social relations, and so on. In other words, a general attitude towards diverse dimensions of life, a specific manner of living and conceiving the world results from the subjective internalization of the individual’s objective position in social space. Bourdieu developed the concept of *habitus* to refer to this phenomenon: the specific and taken-for-granted manner of living.

In much of his work, Bourdieu argues that social class is the main category that structures the social space of positions (where the individual is placed on the social map) and dispositions (the inclination to do or feel things in certain ways), the space of objective conditions, and their correspondent *habitus*. In his studies on the sociology of education, for example, Bourdieu demonstrates how the homology between the requirements of the educational system, predicated on the *habitus* of middle and upper classes – that is, familiarity with the usage of formal language and the continuous and implicit intergenerational transmission of cultural capital – accounts for the educational inequalities between social classes. This leads to lower-class students having poorer performance and shorter trajectories in the educational system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1975).

5 THE REPRODUCTION OF GENDER IN CLASSES

5.1 Bourdieu and habitus's influence on reproduction of gender

Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of education focuses primarily on privilege. Bourdieu argues that the education system serves to reproduce a class-based society. He is interested in how different classes form distinctive educational titles, which contain social class signifiers. He explicitly rejects the idea that education serves as a means of repealing social class distinctions (Bourdieu, 1992). Rather, he says the structuring effect of the education system provides a stabilizing function. Certainly, the study of reproduction of social inequality through education is central to Bourdieu's thought and a key tenet of his legacy. In Bourdieu's theory, education does not play a transformative and democratizing role, but serves as one of the primary institutions through which social privileges are maintained.

Bourdieu argues that systems of formal education focus on propagating and reproducing the cultural values of the dominant classes. In this way, school favors children and young people who have mastered the prevailing cultural apparatus. In this framework, the schools represents the institutional processes by which working-class and poor children assimilate to the dominant order. Bourdieu and Passeron (1975) developed the "reproduction theory" based on the concept of "symbolic violence." For them, every pedagogical action is symbolic violence and an imposition of arbitrary power. The dominant culture and social order is presented to children as normal. Accordingly, social divisions are copied and reproduced. Pedagogy serves power. While Bourdieu was interested in formal education systems and their role in propagating the prevailing social order, this study focuses on the informal education system.

This study utilizes Bourdieu's framework on reproduction by everyday performance. We consider that social practices encompass the entire learning process, including knowledge transfer that takes place in private, domestic settings. The kinds of knowledge transmitted at home include judgments, intellectual tendencies, behavior norms, and worldviews. Utilizing Bourdieu's critical theory to clarify the process of knowledge transmission, this dissertation deals with how gender can be normalized and reproduced differently in different social classes, through indoctrination and domination, which legitimizes the existing order and serves to reproduce specific norms and power structures in relation to gender.

Bourdieu's research focused on the relationship between education and power in the French education system. To understand the relationship of Bourdieu's research with this study, it is important to review his body of work and its central findings. *Habitus* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1975) looks at the long-term understandings and structures that individuals inherit from their home environments. Bourdieu looks at the organizing principles of practices and representations that can be adapted to one certain purpose, without supposing the border of conscious and the express domain of necessary operations to achieve them objectively. Obedience to rules is collectively orchestrated, rather than the product of direct action. For example: mothers transfer to their daughters a system of structured and enduring characteristics of what it means to be women in their particular social class. Therefore, it is very important to understand the disparity between being a woman in low-class Brazil and in being woman in high-class Brazil.

The field concept in Bourdieu (1998) refers to the social situation in which agents conduct their practice in accordance with the habitus. A field consists of agents with the same habitus that move like players whose positions in the game will depend on the corresponding capital accumulation of each individual agent. For example, in the economic field, the position of individuals, whether dominant or dominated, depends on the financial capital of each. Thus, individuals are constantly struggling to change their positions in the game, using strategies to increase the accumulation of capital.

According to Saviani (2008), education is the "act of producing, directly and intentionally, in each individual, the humanity that is produced historically and collectively by all men" (p. x). The social structure acts

within the individual and the individual is socially constructed. What matters for education is the “objective knowledge that is historically produced.”

Vasconcellos (2002), Bourdieu, and Passeron in their work *Les Héritiers* showed the importance of the relationship between cultural capital (separate from social and economic capital) and social selection in school. Bourdieu demonstrates the relationship between culture and educational inequalities, showing that the educational system requires certain skills that are acquired within the family.

Wacquant notes that some ideas are inspired by Merleau-Ponty in Bourdieu's theory; in particular, the intrinsic corporeality contact pre objective between subject and object, so as to restore the body as a source of practical intentionality (that is, treat the body socialized not as an object but as a deposit of a generative and creative ability). An analogy for the relationship between a social worker and the world would not be the relationship between an individual and an object, but rather the ontological relationship of complicity between the habitus and the world. Bourdieu (2002) gives this example when he writes about the genesis of the concepts of habitus and field; the social body is carrying the individual's body habitus, a system of long-term provisions that generate and structure regulated practices. These practices are incorporated and unconscious, and, therefore, regularly enacted. The body becomes the bearer of habitus as the provisions incorporated shape the body from the material and cultural conditions to form a social body. This is the process of socialization, producing an individual forged in and by social relations, making their own individualization a product of socialization. So the notion of habitus articulates the individual and the collective.

A common misconception is that socialization is the imposition of society on the individual to take certain knowledge, norms, and values. This vision of a perverse society that controls people through colonization of souls makes little sense. By their social nature, human beings require socialization in order to survive and develop. By contrast, the strictly genetic structures of animals do not do a good job of preparing the individual for independent living, as animals depend on others for a longer period of time than humans do, and more intensely. When we consider the ability to perform varied and complex functions, including walking, talking, learning, thinking, self-awareness, making rational decisions, having fun, etc., we must recognize that these attributes result from interaction with other humans during long periods of time. Socialization and individualization (or subjectivity) are two sides of the same coin (Elias, 1983). The same acts and relationships enable us to become people and also enable civil society.

Bourdieu sought to confront adversaries to objectivist concepts (such as Levi-Strauss, Durkheim, and Marx), the “body-hafting” actors again in the analysis (the fields that say institutions need “actors who keep them in function, namely actors with matching dispositions”) and, at the same time, against subjectivist concepts (such as Schütz and Sartre).

The interactionist approach shows that behavior is conditioned by individual history and by society (in the truest sense of the word), including incorporated dispositions, movements, and body postures, which provide evidence of social position and distances.

The body is part of the social world – how the social world part of the body of the accomplished in the learning processes incorporation of social forms the basis of that presence. The social world, the precondition successful social action as the everyday experience of the world is as unquestionably given (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 69).

Habitus is a “generating principle, namely the more or less adapted to the requirements of a field responses.” As a product of practice, the individual is a producer of practices: prior experiences in the social field are distilled in the body as perception, thought, and action schemes, and remain an active presence. Compliance and consistency of practices over time, according to Bourdieu, rely primarily on the function of pre-conscious and largely coherent *habitus schemas* and less on formal rules and explicit norms. Bourdieu (among others) argued that the concept of habitus was designed to “remind us that there are other generating principles of practice in addition to the explicit norm or the rational calculus.”

The habitus is realized only in relation to a field when it encounters “conditions to its effectiveness,” namely, conditions “which are identical or analogous to those of which he himself is emerged” (Bourdieu, 1992a, p. 115). If the habitus encounters a field that specifies “objective opportunities,” which carries the habit as an inclination or disposition in itself because it has been formed by incorporation of “structures of a similar universe,” “the actors have only their *Natur*, that is left to what history has made of them [...]

to do what needs to be done” (Bourdieu, 1992a, p. 115). In societies without schools, this socialization or enculturation takes place in symbolically structured groups or environments. In imitation of the actions of others, individuals are directly targeted and indoctrinated.

In all societies, the children show for the gestures and postures that make up the right adult in her eyes, extraordinary activeness: so for a particular walk, a specific head posture, a warping of the face, to sit down on the species, with instruments to deal.

These gestures and attitudes are associated with “a particular tone of voice, a speech” and a “specific content of consciousness” (Bourdieu, 1992a, p. 190). Habit is generated and social structures reproduced in formal or informal settings.

Cultural capital can occur in three forms: incorporated, objectified, and institutionalized. In the first modality, cultural capital presupposes a process of internalization within the framework of the teaching and learning process, which implies an investment of time. In this way, “embedded cultural capital” is an integral part of the person, and cannot therefore be changed instantly, since it is linked to the individual’s biological nature. In this sense, it is subject to a hereditary transmission that is always produced almost imperceptibly. According to Bourdieu (1997, p. 86):

Accumulation of cultural capital from the earliest childhood – the presupposition of a quick and effortless appropriation of all kinds of useful capacities – only occurs without delay or loss of time, in those families possessing a cultural capital so solid that they make the whole period of socialization is, at the same time, accumulation. Consequently, the transmission of cultural capital is, undoubtedly, the most disguised form of hereditary transmission of capital.

Already the “objectified cultural capital,” unlike the previous one, is materially transferable from a physical medium, making it clear that it is a transfer of a legal property, since it is directly related to the cultural capital incorporated, or rather, to the capacities that allow the enjoyment of cultural goods, which are experienced differently in each social class. Therefore, the objectified cultural capital can be appropriated both materially (economic capital) and symbolically (work of art, cultural capital). Finally, there is the “institutionalized cultural capital” that alludes to the objectification of “embedded cultural capital” in the form of titles that are simultaneously guaranteed and legally sanctioned. Through academic title, institutional recognition is granted to the cultural capital possessed by a particular person.

One purpose of socialization is a ritual of daily practices that incorporate dispositions about gender. Bourdieu claims that “mytho-logic-ritual opposites” structure space. The relationship of a woman to her own body is always mediated by the myth; the most fundamental, consequently general body experiences are socially determined. The incorporation of practical (involving gender constructions) schemes is always associated with the internalization of structures of time and social space. The habit is a “generating principle”; specifically, the more or less adapted to the requirements of a field required. As a product of practice one is a producer of practices: prior experience in the social fields condense in the bodies as perception, thought, and action schemes and stay as active presence. Regarding compliance and consistency of practices over time, Bourdieu was primarily interested in the function of pre-conscious and largely coherent habitus schemas, and less on formal rules and explicit norms. The concept of habitus designed by Bourdieu (among others) reminds us that there are other generating principles of practice in addition to the explicit norm or the rational calculus.

How do we explain the genesis of habitus, and the development of “practical sense”? Bourdieu’s key concept is that incorporation of culture, history, and social order – i.e., the collective learning of the gender and body concept – is ingrained.

Your own relationship to the social world and the importance that is attributed in it comes, never clear the view as about the extent to which it is entitled feels to occupy space and time of the other – precisely the space that is taken by their own bodies in fitting, by means of a certain attitude, means confidently-striding or restrained and concise gestures, as well as the time you speaking and interacting absorbs assertive or aggressive, uninhibited or unconscious way to complete (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 739).

5.2 Internalization of gender

Bourdieu treats the internalization of space structures related to the role of space and structural environment in a similar fashion to the human body. The cultural tradition confronts individuals in many forms, among others, architecturally. Houses and rooms convey principles of order, including forced or favored modes of body movement. Bourdieu expands on this idea, arguing that individuals “learn by doing,” a general principle that supports cultural reproduction. The entire material world, which forces specific norms of movement and social interactions, functions as an educational system.

Social and cultural capital studies demonstrate how the family context can predominate in the reproduction process, thus establishing a direct relationship between the social and family structures and performance in public life. However, several recent studies have shown the possibility of thinking about socialization as a locus of social change. According to Bernard Lahire, the actions in the socialization process can change the biography formed by the habitus of individuals, depending on the experiences in and out of their families. Although Lahire (1999a; 2002c) addresses a number of criticisms of the habitus theory, pointing basically to certain abusive generalizations made from this theoretical model (especially the assumption of a unified system of dispositions, always transferable to all contexts of action), in general terms, his own conception of the social actor is quite similar to that of Bourdieu. Fundamentally, the social actor is seen as a being that is constituted through the processes of socialization, acquiring a patrimony of dispositions that start to guide its actions, in a practical sense, in subsequent contexts. Although with some caveats, Lahire thus maintains all of Bourdieu’s criticism of subjectivist or individualistic perspectives, which conceive of the actor as capable of making decisions predominantly in a reflexive, rational, or even free manner. Lahire departs from Bourdieu however by proposing a closer look at the diversity of experiences of socialization to which the same actor is subjected (more or less precocious, intense, systematic, and coherent among themselves), to the plural or even contradictory character of the dispositions so constituted (more or less strong, stable, and transferable), and the multiplicity of contexts of action (not always possible to describe as a field).

From birth, a child is immersed in a family structure, which is marked by historical, social, and cultural conditions. The child internalizes this world with reflected gestures of his/her surroundings, encountering society in the formation of his “inner self”. There is subject / body “socialized” personality is a reflexive entity in the dialectical process of internalization of society that occurs along with the internalization of language. This process is what the French philosopher Foucault calls “subjectivity”. Bourdieu called this the formation of “habitus”. Lacan (1998) called it the “mirror stage”. This ontological assimilation by children with social reality around them is a socially constructed activity. The socialization that occurs in the family and school is the most firmly entrenched in the consciousness because it contributes to the “first world” of the individual. Nonetheless, children from different groups differ in how well their habitus prepares them to decode the demands of society. Some arrive with an advantaged group of habits and understandings, whereas other children come with understandings that predispose them to submission. In both cases, the habitus serves to reproduce the power structure.

This aesthetic intolerance is so strong because it is also a value system and collection of attitudes. Taste preferences and habitus structures are rooted in the body. As an example of this dynamic, Bourdieu analysed how, in 1960s France, keywords and quotations were used in predictable ways. Bourdieu stressed continuously that an essentialist (i.e., from intrinsic characteristics) aesthetic preference is of limited value when discussing most of the items that serve as class signifiers, e.g., food, drink, sports. Rather, these items serve as identifiable signifiers that create class distinctions.

For Bourdieu, the preference for certain foods and drinks depends upon position in the social class structure. The class-specific proliferation of certain sports also relates to class distinctions. For Bourdieu, preferences regarding sports reflect body image and class understandings, whether conscious or unconscious. Bourdieu’s approach could be seen as a rational choice approach. Bourdieu localized his theories, but weighed the costs and benefits in the dispositions of the habitus, precisely in relation to the body as a central element. Bourdieu’s class-specific habitus dimension, could be summarized as follows: The greater the probability that members of a particular social class will engage in a sport, the less the probability this sport “whose relationship to her own body in the deepest regions of the unconscious” contradicts the body

image as a “depository of a global, comprehensive, innermost dimension of the individual and his body worldview.” (Ibid, p. 347)

The effect of symbolic domination of the body is treated by Bourdieu (2002e, p. 50) as a “magical force”, i.e., a symbolic force of power that is exerted on bodies, directly, and, as if by magic, without physical coercion. However, this “magic” only acts as the support placed predisposition like thrusts in the deepest area of the body.

The strong relationship between school performance and social origin that ultimately denied the functionalist paradigm became the supporting elements of the new theory. The frustration that young people from middle and lower classes feel in the false promise of the education system supports Bourdieu’s theory. Where the education system purports to promote equal opportunity, meritocracy, and social justice, Bourdieu finds a system that reproduces and legitimizes social inequalities.

Bourdieu asserts that the action of social structures on individual behavior becomes ingrained. From their initial training in a social and family environment that corresponds to a specific position in the social structure, individuals incorporate a set of provisions for the typical action of this position (a family or class habitus). This training then leads them and directs their future actions in various environments. The rules and constraints that characterize a particular position in the social structure from within the individual, supporting norms of behavior consistent with the individual’s self-conception. In sum, the social structure leads the individual to play a socially-specified role.

According to Bourdieu, each social group has specific systems of action, which are transmitted to individuals in the form of habitus. The historic accumulation of success and failure of the social group builds a working knowledge of what is possible for members of each group to achieve, even when this knowledge is unconscious. Given each group’s position in the social space and relative levels of different types of capital (e.g., economic, social, cultural), certain actions and strategies become safer and more profitable while others become riskier.

Therefore, in modern societies, several studies have called into question the integrated character, hard and player of family socialization, noting that: (1) parenting practices are observed, discussed and guided by science, the media and social movements (Faircloth, 2010); (2) the family presents this company to new generations, from their experiences, but also its prospects for a desired future; and (3) children interpret the family experience in the light of their own challenges. Thus, family socialization is not merely the result of transmission from parents, but is a product of the interaction (involving conflicts) between family members, influenced by various institutions (Zuluaga, 2004). Moreover, most children are, from the early years, integrated in educational contexts, media and other activities of childhood (parties, parks, etc.) that go beyond the family sphere. Growing up becomes an institutionalized experience (Mollo-Bouvier, 2005). Even considering the family’s role in the interpretation of messages and relationships in other contexts, children do not cease to question the interpretations (and authority) of family members. We cannot deny the diffuseness of socialization from childhood (Barbosa, 2007), blurring the division between primary and secondary socialization.

From Bourdieu’s perspective, individuals and groups incorporate non-deliberate processes of adjustment and action in response to their incorporation of their habitus. Applied to education, this reasoning indicates that individuals assess their prospects for success in the education system based, to a large extent, on the collective experience of members of their respective groups. Concretely, this means that the members of each social group will tend to invest a greater or lesser portion of their resources (time, effort, money), according to how they calculate the higher or lower odds of success.

5.3 Habitus, field and gender reflexivity

While most criticisms of habitus invoke determinism, some of Bourdieu’s texts provide more space for agency and reflexivity than others. In particular, in some of his later works, especially *The State Nobility*, Bourdieu (1998) suggests that moments of misalignment and tension between habitus and field may give rise to increased reflexive awareness. For Bourdieu, habitus operates at an unconscious level except when individuals with a well-developed habitus find themselves moving across new, unfamiliar fields. It is in such moments that an individual’s habitus may become “divided against itself, in constant negotiation with itself and its ambivalences” resulting in “a kind of duplication, to a double perception of the self” (Bourdieu,

1999, cited in Reay, 2004, p. 436). This becomes what Bourdieu (2003) has termed a *habitus clivé*, a “split habitus” (cited in Krais, 2006, p. 130). For Bourdieu, reflexive awareness arises from the “negotiation of discrepancies by individuals in their movement within and across fields of social action” (McNay, 1999, p. 110; see also Powell, 2008). Bourdieu was careful to emphasize, however, that despite a proliferation of fields and an increasingly mobile population, such disjunctions between habitus and field are not common occurrences. Chambers (2005) notes that “most people tend to remain within compatible fields most of the time”, thus there is usually a fit between field and habitus (p. 340). In such circumstances, the habitus tends to be reinforced rather than challenged. Therefore, Bourdieu shows how reflexivity is not an inherently universal capacity of subjects, rather, it is a “piecemeal, discontinuous affair” (McNay, 1999, p. 110), uneven in its application, emerging only with the experience of dissonance.

Although Bourdieu acknowledges the “destabilizing and potentially subversive effects that might arise from movement across fields”, he ignores what this might imply for an understanding of modern gender identity (McNay, 1999, p. 107). In *Masculine Domination* he fails to fully integrate the notion of habitus with his work on the concept of field. This is problematic because, in contrast to traditional societies, such as the Kabyle, modern society is marked by the “complexity of its structures, criteria and social differentiations” and the experiences of individuals in general, and women in particular, are heterogeneous and contradictory, “encompassing not only practices of subordination to masculine domination, but also practices in which women assert independence and receive recognition for their work” (Krais, 1999). Uncontested symbolic violence” (p. female snowboarders actively resist the male bodily *hexis* and make attempts to redefine the female snowboarding body).

With Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, it is difficult to understand the source of such assertive female impulses. Thus, a key question facing feminists is whether Bourdieu’s work is useful for explaining agency and reflexive awareness in the gender context. As a response to this question, the second part of this paper examines the potential of the habitus-field complex for explaining gender reflexivity in contemporary sport and physical culture.

According to McNay (1999), while Bourdieu is “undoubtedly right to stress the ingrained nature of gender norms”, his lack of a sustained consideration of gendered habitus in relation to the field means he “significantly underestimates the ambiguities and dissonances that exist in the way that men and women occupy masculine and feminine positions” in contemporary society (p. 107). In so doing, he is inattentive to the “internally complex nature of subjectivity” (McNay, 2000, p. 72), as well as the impact of particular social changes on how women “inhabit, experience, move across, change and are changed by new and emerging social fields, as well as by gender relations within existing fields” (Kenway; McLeod, 2005, p. 535).

Despite such oversights, some feminist scholars have identified potential in the concepts of field and habitus for understanding how reflexive awareness might arise with regard to gender identity. In particular, McNay (1999) has drawn out these implications to show that gender reflexivity, or the questioning of conventional notions of femininity, does not arise from exposure to, and identification with, a greater array of alternative images of femininity, but rather from “tensions inherent in the concrete negotiation of increasing conflictual female roles” which occurs when women move between various social fields (e.g., family, work, sport) (p. 111; see also Adams, 2006; Hills, 2006; McNay, 2000). Thus, feminist syntheses of gender, habitus and the relational concept of field, yield “a framework in which to conceptualize the uneven and non-systematic ways in which subordination and autonomy are realized in women’s lives” (McNay, 1999, p. 113) including their sport, physical culture and snowboarding experiences.

With only some women critically reflecting upon gendered dimensions of their habitus, and only a select few attempting to initiate changes in sport, culture and industry it is necessary to consider who is likely to do so. The ability to reflexively analyse gender norms in gendered culture tends to depend on the individual’s gendered habitus instilled during childhood, their real life experiences and positions in the field, and the opportunities available for them to move across social fields (e.g., work, education, home, sport, leisure). It is important to note, however, that mobility within and between fields, and in regard to gender styles, is a privileged position (Adkins, 2002). Perhaps it is worthwhile considering then whether the increased opportunities for young middle- and upper-class women—notably this is the background of most female (see Thorpe, 2007a) —to move across multiple fields, and enter spheres that were previously closed to them (e.g., workplaces and sports traditionally-defined as masculine) has increased their potential for reflexivity.

If this is the case, one way of encouraging further reflexivity and changes in gendered habitus may be, as Chambers (2005, p. 340) suggests, to encourage more “interaction between fields, between communities or ways of life, so that individuals become aware of new options”.

Of course, the presence of reflexivity does not automatically translate into identity transformation. In some circumstances “our capacity for reflexive thought can leave us recognizing but unable to do anything about our lack of freedom” (Craib, 1992, p. 150; see also Adams, 2006; Brooks; Wee, 2008). Even when women experience a disjunction between habitus and field leading to gender reflexivity, these alterations do not necessarily work to “undermine gender, or masculine domination” (Chambers, 2005, p. 343). As women enter into new fields certain aspects of gender relations may be destabilized, yet other aspects may be further entrenched (McNay, 1999). Indeed, as women enter male-dominated fields, many make adaptations and adopt strategies to “manage the masculine culture into which they are entering” (Chambers, 2005, p. 342). This also seems true of some women in our culture, particularly core female boarders who engage in prolonged periods of enculturation into, and sustained participation within, and thus have most fully embodied the (masculine) habitus.

Clearly, despite the “cultural inculcation” of symbolic violence in this field of education, girls continues to be “exercised with the complicity” of (some) female (mothers, grandmas, aunts) (Mcrobbie, 2009, p. 140; see also Kraiss, 1993; McNay, 1999, 2000). The contemporary society is a contradictory social context of ongoing sexism *and* greater opportunities for women (Thorpe, 2005). It would be a mistake, however, to assume that females passively embody the masculine habitus during their participation within the field, and only begin to critically reflect on their gendered experiences upon exiting, or moving to a different position (e.g., weekend warrior) within the field. Rather, core female frequently encounter differences and problems *within* the field, which encourage them to engage in day-to-day negotiations of gender identity. In theorizing critical reflexivity and gender identity transformation then, we need to recognize that there is a continuum from relatively minor daily conflicts *within* fields, to more serious experiences of dissonance as individuals cross and enter new fields (Brooks; Wee, 2008). In other words, we need a way of conceptualizing the habitus that “recognizes its potential for ambivalence, while acknowledging that this potential resides in relatively mundane conflicts as well as in more dramatic habitus-field mismatches” (Brooks; Wee, 2008, p. 516; also see Mouzelis, 2007). Some females regularly engage in “regulated liberties” – small exercises of power that subtly resignify the female body from *within* the field. Arguably, Bourdieu’s (1991) notion of “regulated liberties” has the potential to help us capture some of the ambiguities, dissonances, and subtle negotiations of power experienced by young women within contemporary sport and physical cultural fields.

The key point here is that these embodied practices “cannot be understood through binaries of domination and resistance, but rather involve more complex processes of investment and negotiation” (McNay, 2000, p. 58). While the various “regulated liberties” performed by women (e.g., demonstrations of cultural commitment, defining their own styles and tastes, “boy talk”) may suggest gender instability, in the workplace, for example, they do not guarantee reflexivity or gender identity transformation. In sum, a feminist interpretation of Bourdieu suggests that gender reflexivity in cultures is “uneven and discontinuous”, potentially arising as a result of mobility *between* social fields and, to a lesser extent, as a result of the requirements to reconcile the dissonant experiences (regulated liberties) invoked *within* fields (McNay, 1999; 2000; Kenway; McLeod, 2005).

According to Bourdieu, an individual’s conscious awareness does not by itself lead to fundamental social change. As Kraiss (2006) explains, Bourdieu vehemently argued against the “intellectualist illusion” – and in particular the position of Judith Butler – that simply performing individual acts of “deviant behaviour” would be enough to overthrow dominating social structures (p. 131). For Bourdieu (2001), performativity and other regulated liberties fail to offer genuine opportunities for emancipation from structures of domination, for two main reasons. Firstly, regulated liberties are “performed by individuals” and, thus, “lack the cohesive, collective character required for wide-ranging social change” and political mobilization necessary for effective resistance. Secondly, regulated liberties take place from “*within* the dominant context and corresponding habitus” and thus “do not really subvert those structures” (Chambers, 2005, p. 339). He claimed that practices often hailed as “resistant” may have an impact only on the relatively superficial “effective” relations of a field rather than its deeper structural relations (Bourdieu, 1992, cited in McNay, 1999, p. 105).

Certainly, some females are critically aware of the gendered nature of their habitus, and are trying to create new social, cultural and financial opportunities for themselves.

Feminist scholars, including Chambers (2005) and Adkins (2003), add some interesting caveats to Bourdieu's thoughts on reflexivity and change. Chambers (2005), for example, argues that the strategies Bourdieu proposes for change – principally a disjunction between field and habitus, and regulated liberties – are “not best suited to changes in gender systems” because “gender operates across fields” and “regulated liberties concerning gender are often reactionary” (p. 326). In her view, because gendered habitus tends to be reinforced in all fields it “cannot be significantly undermined by mobility across fields” (p. 343), and, thus, may be “even less susceptible to change than is the habitus more generally” (p. 323). Similarly, Adkins (2002) suggests that women might be regarded as “reflexivity losers” due to relative lack of mobility within and between fields, and the extent to which some forms of femininity have become naturalized across fields (p. 6). In a subsequent publication, Adkins (2003) suggests that the presence of critical reflexivity may not be sufficient to warrant any discussion of identity transformation since it may be the case that in the contemporary cultural moment, “reflexive practices are so habituated that they are part of the very norms, rules and expectation that govern gender in late modernity, even as they ostensibly appear to challenge these very notions” (p. 35). Making a similar point more broadly, Sweetman (2003) also argued that a flexible or *reflexive habitus* is increasingly common in late-, high-, or reflexive-modernity due to various economic, social and cultural shifts, which have led to “a more or less permanent disruption of social positions, or a more or less constant disjunction between habitus and field” (p. 541). In this context, reflexivity “itself becomes habitual” such that certain contemporary individuals or groups “may easily and largely unquestioningly engage in reflexive projects of self (re)construction as a matter of course” (Sweetman, 2003, p. 542). Sweetman (2003) adds that those displaying a reflexive habitus, “whilst at a potential advantage in certain respects, may also face considerable difficulties ‘being themselves’” (p. 528). A slightly more sanguine interpretation of the gender-habitus-field complex is offered by McNay (1999, 2000).

The issues raised by Chambers (2005), Adkins (2002, 2003), and Sweetman (2003), may invigorate theoretical debates surrounding how best to understand and explain gender, identity, agency and social change in sport in the early twenty-first century. Clearly, there are many possible interpretations of Bourdieu's habitus-field nexus. The key argument here, however, is that some feminist extensions of his work are particularly useful because they have the potential to reveal both “change *and* continuity, intervention *and* repetition” (McLeod, 2005, p. 24) in gender identities and embodied practices in contemporary cultures such as Brazil.

This paper examines recent feminist critiques of, and engagements with, Bourdieu's conceptual schema via a case study of mothers educating their daughters, with particular attention to the development of female identity and possible antecedents of gender inequality. However, further research is needed that builds upon the theoretical aperture presented here and continues to explore the possibilities offered by Bourdieu's conceptual schema for deepening and developing theorizing of gender and the body and embodiment in culture. Indeed, research that puts the gender-habitus-field complex “*to work empirically*” (Bourdieu; Wacquant, 1992, p. 95, italics in original) has the potential to reveal more nuanced conceptualizations of gendered subjectivity, power relations, and transformations in contemporary physical cultures. In this sense, Bourdieu's work appears to have much in common with Michel Foucault's theory and, therefore, a number of interesting commonalities in their work deserve comment (see also McNay, 2000).

As “theorists of constraint” Bourdieu and Foucault both spent much of their careers dissecting the relentless quest for normality across the social universe (McRobbie, 2009, p. 140). In their later work, however, both offered conceptions of the self that “attribute a degree of agency and self-determination to the individual without jettisoning [their] anti-essentialist view of the subject” (McNay, 1992, p. 62). Much like Bourdieu, Foucault (1983; 1988) rejects the notion of individuals “possessing an *innate ability* to [...] problematize their identities and to develop practices to change it” (Markula; Pringle, 2006, p. 170; emphasis added). Critical thought (Bourdieu's “realistic knowledge”) is also at the core of Foucault's understanding of technologies of self. According to Foucault (1983), the first step in the technologies of the self involves an individual gaining the ability to problematize their identity and the codes that govern it. For Foucault, it is only after such questioning that one can engage in ethical conduct or practices of freedom. Moreover, similar to Bourdieu's notion of “regulated liberties”, Foucault does not believe that engaging in technol-

ogies of self necessarily transforms power relations or discourses. Rather, individuals attempt to minimize harmful modes of domination *within* relations of power.

Reading Foucault's latter work, however, it is difficult to know where (some) individuals gain the impetus or ability to interrogate the limits of their own subjectivity. While Foucault offers fascinating insights into the various practices a critically reflexive subject may use to transform themselves within power relations (see Markula; Pringle, 2006; Thorpe, 2008b), he is vague as to *how* individuals develop the capabilities to begin questioning the various effects of regimes of truth. Arguably, Bourdieu's habitus-field complex offers a more detailed account of the *conditions of emergence* for critical thought, which in some cases leads to gender reflexivity, or "regulated liberties" within existing power relations. McNay (1999) is particularly critical of what she describes as Foucault's "unresolved vacillation between determinism, on the one hand, and voluntarism on the other" or in other words between "docile bodies" and "reflexive" selves (p. 96). She argues that, by contrast, Bourdieu's concept of habitus as lived bodily practice opens up more theoretical space for "complex understandings of the interplay of social structures (fields) and individual agency, and elucidating the variability and creativity evident in reproductions of identity" (McNay, 1999, p. 101; see also Powell, 2008). Of course, all theories have strengths and shortcomings and, because they are a matter of perspective, are always open to debate. Conversations regarding the merits (and risks) of Bourdieu and Foucault's work for extending theories of gender, agency, and the body and embodiment in sport and physical culture, however, have the potential to shed light on some of the omissions in, and gaps between, these social theories, and highlight some areas where social theories of women in physical culture might be advanced.

Future research might also draw upon feminist texts, and use a range of sociological literature with other central foci (e.g., the body, physicality, identity, agency, reflexivity) that modernizes Bourdieu's original work (e.g., Shilling, 2004; Sweetman, 2003). It could be fruitful to ask: what inter and intra-field related ambiguities and dissonances do women in contemporary sport and physical cultures experience? How do they negotiate these tensions? What reflexive possibilities are available to them and what is the impact of the pre-reflexive aspects of their identities on their capacity to take up such opportunities within particular sports fields? How do women from different generations, and social, cultural, and political contexts, experience and negotiate tensions within, and across, various fields (Kenway; McLeod, 2005)?

6.1 Definition of Social Class

The class concept consists of three levels: economic, legal, and political. An ideological concept of social classes was posited by Lenin (1957, p. 162) as follows:

Classes are large groups of men who are distinguished by their place in a production system historically determined by the relationships in which they are with respect to the means of production (relations that largely established and given that—made by law), for their role in the social organization of work and, consequently, by the way, and the proportion they perceive part of social wealth they have. Classes are groups of people, one of which can appropriate the work of other, different positions in a certain system of social economy.

According to Lenin, society is comprised of the owners of resources and means of production and non-owners who provide the labor for production of goods and services. The small group of owners is the dominant class and the non-owners, or workers, are the dominated class. The state appears to represent the interests of the dominant, or ruling, class and creates many devices to maintain the economic and political structure that supports this class.

These devices are named by Marx as “infrastructure” and described as conditions for the development of ideologies and regulatory standards, whether political, religious, cultural or economic, to ensure the interests of the owners of the means of production. Societies, according to Marx, are class societies (Dahrendorf, 1959). According to him, in any society, we find a class system, i.e., a system that has a dominant group and a dominated group. The key to understanding Marx is his class⁴² definition. A class is defined by the ownership of property. Such ownership vests a person with the power to exclude others from the property and to use it for personal purposes. In relation to property there are three classes of society: the bourgeoisie (who own the means of production, such as machinery and factory buildings, and whose source of income is profit), landowners (whose income is rent), and the proletariat (who own their labor and sell it for a wage).

According to Marx, social classes are identified by three criteria:

- (a) The social group is defined by the *possession of the means of production*. The actors have the same position, the same job, the production ratio. Individuals who belong to the same economic class have a similar social position.
- (b) Individuals who share a class have a *class consciousness*, i.e. they share interests, lifestyles, tastes. Individuals are aware of belonging to a specific class and have common interests. There is a sense of belonging to the same group. Marx says that class consciousness is felt when members of a class fight against members of another class.
- (c) A class *shares the class struggle*, i.e., individuals fight for the same interests face conflicts that are more or less violent (McLellan, 1977).

Realizing that even the bourgeois revolution failed to abolish the contradictions between classes, Marx and Engels (1998) noted that when replacing the old worker operating conditions with a new, capitalist system of production, internal class contradictions remained. Development for creating objective conditions for transformation social. The proletariat become the agent for this social transformation, the class awareness of, out of historical determinism mere paper and. These contradictions were expressed in the increasing mass of dispossessed people, who suffered from the ills of humanity, such as poverty, disease, hunger, malnutrition,

⁴² Marx did not write his intended final chapter in *Capital* on “The Classes”. Throughout his writing, however, Marx’s observations, comments, and theoretical points provide sufficient detail to patch together the probable structure of his overall argument.

and technological backwardness in contrast to those who have a large accumulation of property and wealth in major financial and industrial centers. It is only through a revolutionary process that the proletarians of the world, according to Marx, could eliminate the conditions of ownership and concentration of existing means of production in the hands of a few. Ending the ownership of companies, according to Marx and Engels, would cause the bourgeoisie to disappear and install, temporarily, a dictatorship of the proletariat until they realize the conditions for a form of communist social organization.

With the development of industrial capitalism and modernity, the common language mistakes often use the term social class to social class. For Weber, the stratification of social classes is established as the distribution of certain social values (e.g., wealth, prestige, education) in society, into castes, estates, and classes. For Weber, the individual is the fundamental element for explaining social reality and the placement of individuals in diverse spheres within society, whether economic, political, or cultural. Thus the comprehensive sociological theory will bring to the subject the starring role unlike the *social fact*. For Weber (1994), class relates to the economic interests of the people and the individual belongs to a class and has a class position determined by the market for goods and labor. These people are connected by means of a specific common causal component of their opportunities; and do not necessarily share the same social prestige. Every class can have a class action that is social action of its members, Weber's social actions, for example, directly determine the class situation of the workers and entrepreneurs in the labor market, the market for goods, and capitalist enterprise (Weber, 1999).

Weber's theory presents a very different situation from the Marxist perspective of class antagonism. From his point of view, which is a comprehensive theory, we have many classes with specific economic interests, which, in association with the corporate division of estates and the quest for political influence in the communities represented by the parties, are responsible for the distribution of power.

However, a social class is not only an economic question. Bourdieu describes interactions with the field as a matter of learning the "rules of the game" (Bourdieu; Wacquant, 1992).

Social class is defined as group that, even without awareness, transmits experiences and dispositions and embodies a "way of being" and certain values. That specific configuration of capital, embodied patterns of action, and symbolic classification constitute social dividing lines that are rarely crossed. Classification is the symbolic evaluation of people and their characteristics. Capital refers to all of the resources that are necessary to access relevant goods and activities. New classes emerged from pre-capitalist ranks with the capitalist transformation of society, while earlier forms of classifications, stratification, and culture vanished only very slowly. I call these persisting earlier forms "sociocultural."

The different positions in space correspond to social lifestyles, systems of differential deviations, which are symbolic of the retranslation differences objectively inscribed in the conditions of existence. The practices and the properties are an expression of systematic conditions of existence (what we call lifestyle) because they are the product of the same operator practical habitus, durable system of rules, and transposable objectives that express, in the form of systematic preferences, the objective needs of which they are the products.

Economists and sociologists discuss the emergence of a new fraction classes in Brazil; for many, the effect of income and access to micro-credit transfer policies, while for others, the economic stability. Jessé contribution's Souza (2011) the debate is part of a research project: "The Brazilian fighters: new medium or new working class", added to other publications, is an attempt to construct a theory of social classes for contemporary Brazil. It highlights the reproduction of class privileges and durable social inequalities, symbolic dimensions, and non-economic components of the reproduction of classes, as well as the dynamics between "Fordist" and "post-Fordist" relations in a peripheral society... (Bourdieu, 1976).

The interpretive framework, Souza's *Study of Brazilian Class* (data), that we are using for this study, develops a dialogue with Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire, and Richard Senneth. It emphasizes the corporate past of individual actors and their practical understanding of the world, built and operated provisions in different life situations; significant socialization contexts and performance in the trajectory of individual lives of a particular class. The critical dialogue with Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Raymundo Faoro and Roberto da Matta, depth in other publications, was ratified in the class definition. The aim is to criticize the interpretations of Brazil found in the negativity of the Iberian heritage in personalism, paternalism, and characterization of an incomplete modernity.

Unlike economists, Jessé de Souza's focus on income does not allow to understand the constituent processes of "social class" and its boundaries. It part of the political economy, favoring the dynamics between production and social classes to build his theory of classes in Brazil. This option is essential to understand and differentiate social classes found by Souza in his research.

Social classes are made up of contributions – ethical, moral, and educational – understood the notion of culture. But you cannot generate a theory of the social world production process (and its understanding by individuals) and class training focused on cultural matrix. The challenge of Jessé de Souza was to build a non-hierarchical analysis able to consider the various flows between the cultural and material dimensions.

6.2 Ideological Construction of Classes in Brazil

Contrary to academic tendencies, the sociologist Jessé de Souza works with an interpretation to revitalize the totalizing interpretations about the uniqueness of the Brazilian national trajectory, and discusses his previous study devoted to criticism of the "Iberian" theses about Brazil's formation (Souza, 2000). The social construction of under-citizenship deepens this venture from the perspective of theoretical complexity of an alternative way of understanding of the antinomies inherent in the national capitalist transformation. This focuses his criticism on the interpretations available about Brazil, especially what he calls Iberianism.

For Leonardo Avritzer (2001), Iberianism is an explanatory matrix that assumes that Portugal, in a marginal location from the cultural point of view and geographically in the European world, gave rise to variations in key elements of European culture regarding horizontal forms of interpersonal relationships, for example, impersonality.

In this sense, the Iberian heritage – horizontal forms of interpersonal relationships – are more properly Portuguese, to the extent that it becomes hegemonic in the functioning of the dictates of the needs of society, the authors responsible for this view characterize Brazil as a country whose society is still going through the pre-modern stage. Similarly, practices such as patrimonialism are explained by this character of the formation of Brazilian society.

Contrary to this view, Jessé de Souza (2000) believed our society had already been through the transformation process. The values and ideas that guide, in practice, the behavior of ordinary people, the Brazilians, in general, and are perceived as anchored in key modern institutions, characterize the modern stage of Brazil.

After all, society with its specific institutions that create individuals as they are, and not the opposite. For all the great classical thinkers of the social sciences, these institutions are two: the capitalist competitive market and the centralized modern state. Without these two key institutions have neither modern society, modern or individuals guided by values and modern ideas (Souza, 2003, p. 106).

In the context of peripheral modernity, the imperatives for legitimating social inequalities are found in institutions, as told to the author (Souza, 2003, p. 24) and shape individuals and their concrete actions, as well as other social and cultural practices. They already have implicitly their own interpretation of what is good and what should be pursued. Therefore, understanding the logic of reproduction of these institutions is fundamental for perceiving the social conflicts.

In the last part of his book entitled *The social construction of sub-citizenship (sub cidadão)*, Souza (2003) refines the apprehension of the specificity of capitalist transformation process undertaken in Brazil and whose predominant form rests on what the author identifies as corresponding to the creation of a kind of "ralé" – the poorest and most exploited social class – structural naturalized by the reproduction characteristic of our peripheral inequality. Souza searches more than anything to shed new light on the formation of a specific peripheral pattern of citizenship and sub-citizenship throughout the emerging period and structuring of our republican life.

Social inequality is a complex issue that can be approached from different perspectives. In general, as evidenced by objective economics, especially the difference in income distribution, it also includes dimensions related to existential aspects, the social relations and political expression (Souza, 2006a). The historical differential access to resources, both material and symbolic order, characterizes the context in which people develop and construct their subjectivities. Bourdieu, Souza seeks mainly to rescue the criticism of the "naturalization" of social relations of domination contained in the habitus theory and its emphasis on the aspect of "automatic" – thoughtless character – the different classifications of social behavior:

In Brazil, social inequality presents itself historically as a serious problem, even with a promising scenario from public policies for the social area that were implemented by the Lula government. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2010), research on sustainable development indicators, Brazil remains high in the Gini index (0.531 in 2008), which measures the degree of income concentration in the population and ranges from 0 (zero), full equality, to 1 (one), maximum inequality. In real conditions, it is very difficult for the index to reach these extremes; however, an index of around 0.5 is understood as an expressive value of strong inequalities in income distribution in the analyzed region... What is observed, therefore, is that economic growth in the country has not reduced social inequality in the same proportion. IBGE data show, for example, that between 1996 and 2006, GDP per capita grew 11.2%, while the Gini index decreased 7.1%. Another important factor in this context is the regional difference highlighted by the indicator: largest in the Midwest (0.558) and lower in the North and South regions (0.498) in 2008.

Thus, strong inequalities in income distribution imply the consolidation of poverty and are among the most serious problems of the country. Brazilian states, such as Piauí, Paraíba and Alagoas, which have the highest Gini indexes in Brazil, for example, have a high proportions of families with monthly per capita income less than half the minimum wage: 44.1%, 42.2% and 47.6%, respectively (IBGE, 2010). Despite the improvement of social inequality indices, these are still very high and a major challenge to Brazilian society. Data released by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, called *Income Inequality in the Decade* (Neri, 2011) highlights a reduction in poverty of 50.64% between December 2002 and 2010 during which period the index measuring inequality reached its lowest point in the series history since 1960. The growth rate in the last decade of the poorest 50% was 577% higher than that of the richest 10%.

As noted by Neri (2011), social inequality is at all levels and unequal distances between people. When viewing the whole population, social inequality is referred to as *vertical inequality*, whereas inequality between specific segments of this population, such as people of different genders, education, or ethnicity, is referred to as *horizontal inequality*.

6.3 Social structure of contemporary Brazil

Empirical and theoretical research on class was conducted by Souza between 2005 and 2008 and carried out in several Brazilian regions. He developed an empirical method based on Pierre Bourdieu's research in Algeria and Bernard Lahire's in France. The self-reflective and critical empirical research methodology allowed, through the use of gaps, Souza to address the contradictions of individuals, despite their understandable self-deception, who have no defense against their social humiliation and to explore the meaning of life in extreme conditions of social exclusion in which about 1/3 of the population lived.

Even after the period of "development" and globalization, Brazilian society still builds and reproduces a neglected class, which is disqualified without any chance to participate in social competition in any sphere of life. There is a class struggle, "rooted" and undeniable, that prevents an entire class, as a result of social and political abandonment, from incorporating useful knowledge and participating in the competitive market economy. This class termed *ralé* by Souza⁴³ (2011) can be exploited as cheap labor. The Brazilian development process not only created the new, modern social classes that differentially appropriate the cultural and economic capital. It also constitutes an entire class of individuals, not only without cultural or economic capital to any significant extent, but lacking the fundamental aspects of social, moral, and cultural preconditions that enable such ownership. Souza named this social class *ralé*, not to "offend." He considers these people to have already suffered and been humiliated. Provocatively, Souza (2011, p. 31) draws attention to what he believes is the "biggest" social and political conflict in Brazilian society:

[...] the social and political abandonment "consented by the whole society", a whole class of individuals "precarious" that reproduces for generations as such. This social class that is always forgotten as a class with a genesis and a common destiny, is only perceived in the public debate as a set of "individuals" poor or dangerous, treated fragmentarily by superficial discussion of issues, as never even get to name the real problem, such as "violence", "public security", "problem of public school", "lack of public health", "fight the hunger" [...]

⁴³ In a Portuguese dictionary the definition of *ralé*: "group of people who are part of what is considered the lowest strata of society."

In his book, “*A ralé brasileira: quem e como vivem*”, Souza (data) demonstrates, empirically, the imperative of reproduction of inequalities and its logical effect of social invisibility, analytical and political for a group of people the sociologist calls provocatively *ralé* meaning: “[...] underpaid and exploited body, and because of that is objectively disregarded and not recognized by all other classes that make up our society” (Souza, 2003, p.122). This class is denied principles of dignity and subject to expressivism, which makes social recognition impossible. In this way, domination and inequality are perceived in social harmony and peace; the discovery of certain conditions under which inequalities are naturalized emerges through an understanding of the operation of the mechanisms of domination.

Souza’s analysis of Brazilian society is divided into four classes that are interconnected and are characterized by unequal appropriation of the different kinds of capital (cultural, economic, social, and others) and social position. These classes are: (1) *ralé*; (2) *batalhadores* (fighters); (3) *empreendedores* (middle class); and (4) rulers (wealthy).

The concept of *habitus*, as presented in the previous chapters, explains the social classes in addition to their position in the production life material. Similar practices among groups of individuals is described as class *habitus*. Thus, the notion of taste acts as a manifestation of an aesthetic sense, as a differentiating mechanism of social classes to separate and unite solidarity and prejudices universally in the sense of connection between the set of provisions with structures that no concrete situations. In this regard, factors such as knowledge and knowledge gained greater relevance in the dynamics of social distinction, in that they allow access to economic capital beginning with privileged access to cultural capital.

This sense seems to be built in the first place, in the reproduction of the “dysfunctional family”, the result of blindness of the scientific debate and dominant public and the consequent political abandonment of this class. The wounds on self-esteem and self-confidence of individuals in this class, resulting from this practice that is transmitted from generation to generation, mother to daughter, carefully hidden by a silent agreement between “victims” and “victimizers”, are not difficult to imagine.

The social roles of parents and children with the reciprocal obligations of the bourgeois middle-class family are also poorly played. In this context, Axel Honneth’s reminder about the importance of family affective and emotional relations as a prerequisite for the exercise of any public function, is useful as a producer is a citizen. The social and political abandonment of families marked by everyday exclusion seems to be the deciding factor for the indefinite reproduction of social classes over time.

The “*Ralé*” – name provocative in a society that denies and glosses over all of its major conflicts – accounts still for almost 1/3 of the population [in Brazil] is so abandoned and despised socially. They have to take care of daily bread making – a prisoner of the “here and now” that is the negation of any perspective or future calculation. What is taken from the “rabble” – by an unjust society that explores them as cheap labor in bodily activities so that the middle class can devote to studies, profitable and prestigious jobs – is any prospect of “future.” There are classes literally “forward” and other “no future”, which needs to be carefully calculated and planned to happen. It is this kind of “incorporation” of certain skills and virtues that really separates the classes from each other, and not income, which is merely the result of the presence or absence of these assumptions.” (Souza, 2011)

The social class, named defiantly by Jessé de Souza as Brazilian *ralé*, is one that has a generally precarious *habitus* from family socialization and the first school instruction, which, given the context of an underdeveloped peripheral country, are insufficient to carry the members of this class to a position of social recognition. According to Souza (2003, p. 167), *ralé* connotes

[...] behavior of provisions that do not meet the objective demands that, whether the individual is a social group, can be considered productive and useful in a modern type of society and competitive and can enjoy social recognition with all its dramatic existential and political consequences [...]

Or “[...] social declassified – we call provocatively, in another recent study, the *ralé* to denounce their abandonment – as his counterpart ‘down’ of the social scale.” (Souza, 2011, p. _).

In recent years, we can see the increase in Brazil in actual consumption of calls popular classes. Some economists and sociologists debate the emergence of a new faction of the middle class in Brazil, an effect, for many of income transfer policies, as well as access to credit. These surveys and statements cause controversy

in the academic context, but mainly in the real context of identification of a person's class membership. Jessé de Souza identifies them as "fighters."

According to Teixeira (2013),

The researcher makes the effort to build a theory of social classes in contemporary Brazil. It highlights the reproduction of class privileges and durable social inequalities, symbolic dimensions, and non-economic components of the reproduction of classes, as well as the dynamics between Fordist and post-Fordist relations in a peripheral society

The fighters can claim their class condition, the little incorporation of the most important capitals of impersonal modern society: economic and cultural capital. The bourgeoisie is defined by the reproduction of both, while the middle class by the reproduction of cultural capital. Teixeira (2013) continues:

As income is not a delimiter element of "class", we see a huge diversity between individuals characterized as "fighters." The "fighter entrepreneurs" are composed of small traders, small industry owners and small farmers, generally, rural former employees, former employees of trade or industrial sector, who lost their employment by dismissal or closure of companies. For some women, the abandonment of husbands turns them into sole source of family income generation.

One aspect valued by Jessé de Souza (to counter the idea of the new middle class in Brazil) is the fact that the result of extensive field research. However, in no time the reader knows the conditions of conducting the field research, either on the research instruments. Little has been said about the choice of regions, cities, and sample of respondents. The description of the research's real life conditions strengthens the argument, besides being a required topic in view of the theoretical and methodological framework used. Unlike economists, to Jessé de Souza analyzes focused on the income do not allow to understand the constituent processes of 'social class' and its borders. It is part of the political economy, favoring the dynamics between the relations of production and social classes to build his theory of classes in Brazil. This option is essential to understanding why the fighters do not form a new faction of the middle class. "Income" is not a class enclosing element; we see the huge diversity among individuals characterized as "fighters." There are "struggling entrepreneurs" composed of small traders (garage shops, street stalls or markets, neighborhood shops, and popular communities), small industry owners (clothing, blacksmithing, carpentry), and small farmers. Generally, there are rural former employees, former employees of the trade or industrial sectors, who lost their employment by dismissal or closure of companies. For women, abandonment by husbands turns them into the sole source of family income for a generation. There are also struggling employees dedicated to working in small and medium industries, salespeople, technicians, and employees in professional services, such as the telemarketing industry.

Social classes are comprised of ideological, ethical, moral, educational contributions, understood the notion of culture. But you cannot generate a theory of the social world production process (and their understanding by individuals) and class training focused on cultural matrix. The challenge of Jessé de Souza is to build a non-hierarchical analysis, able to consider the various flows among the cultural dimensions and material.

Batalhadores are distinguished, and, therefore, allow Jessé de Souza to claim their class condition, the "little incorporation of the most important capitals of impersonal modern society, economic and cultural capital" (Souza, date to be inserted, p. 327). The bourgeoisie is defined by the reproduction of both economic and cultural capital, while the middle class is defined by the reproduction of cultural capital. The *batalhadores* ensure insertion in the world of work of financial capitalism (as a small business owner and/or employees) for the establishment of a set of provisions, among others, discipline, self-control, and prospective thought. We are dealing, therefore, with a suitable social class, ready to work long hours in small businesses conducted in makeshift environments without guarantees and labor rights, where the owner and the employee, usually of the same family, toil side by side, and are subject to the same conditions of little salubrious work, and where labor relations and production are unpredictable.

Recent research has identified five classes in contemporary Brazil (Rehbein, 2016). These classes are: (1) *ralé estrutural*, (2) *batalhadores*, (3) *middle class*, (4) *established class*, and (5) *dominant class*. The classes were identified on the basis of the qualitative interviews conducted in Brazil society. The most important characteristics

distinguishing classes in Brazil from each other are economic and cultural capital of the family of origin, social environment during childhood, quality of education, level of education, income, wealth, self-confidence *vs.* insecurity, autonomy *vs.* heteronomy, an active *vs.* a passive attitude to life, and satisfaction *vs.* dissatisfaction.

Souza (2011) explains the middle class as follows:

In the middle class the blindness of reductively economic view of the world is even more visible. This social class, as opposed to the upper class, reproduces the affective transmission, invisible, imperceptible because every day and within the private the house, the preconditions that will allow children of that class compete with chances of success, acquisition and playback cultural capital. The son or daughter of the middle class from an early age gets used to seeing his father reading the newspaper, the mother reading a novel, Uncle speaking fluent English, the older brother who teaches computer secrets playing games. The emotional identification process – imitate what or who you love – takes so “natural” and “pre-reflective” without the mediation of consciousness, as if breathing or walking, and that’s what makes it both invisible and extremely effective as privilege of legitimation.

The existence of a “new middle class” which plays all the time without questioning, coming to be treated as an absolute truth and a sediment (*sedimentada*) category. There is no doubt that there is a difference, yes, perceived in the way of life or lifestyle of a certain group that after the economic policy adopted in the 1990s, was able to acquire certain assets that were previously only accessible to more affluent groups. However, it is known that to classify and define the social identity of a group it is necessary to analyze its genesis, its ways of being, styles, modes of consumption, forms of language, body behavior, habitus, cultural, social and symbolic capital, etc. That is, as pointed out by Souza (2010a, p. 23), to be a social classification “there must be a transfer of intangible values in the reproduction of social classes.” Being a class and belonging to it is far beyond the possession of certain consumer goods.

According to Souza, the current economic view simply forgets to analyze the social and immaterial side, and “universalized” assumptions of the middle class for all “lower classes”, as if the living conditions of these classes were the same (Souza, 2010, p. 24). What emerges is an enthusiasm, a treatment given by the press to those workers who have won all their ills, purely by their own right, and are getting there, whose aim is to overcome the barrier and achieve other social strata, privileged, valued, and desired.

Belonging to a “class” or social stratum involves much more than statistics on total income or per capita. There is a legitimate issue of habitus (Bourdieu, 2007), as well as symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2000) of the ruling class. The closure of the text seems to “protect” the speech and prevented any criticism. Social Practices ruled that the nomenclature forces the use of income and access to consumer goods as class categorization factors, which certainly is far from an identification otherness. The so-called “urban middle class” a term popularized by Gilberto Velho (1989), is seen as “elite” according to *The Economist* survey, which questioned the use of the term “middle class” when comparing the members of this group to their employees who come from sections of society, such as porters, maids, janitors, and gardeners.

Markowitz (2011), who studied the sense of belonging to the middle class through two distinct institutions, cafes and bars, in two equally distinct cities, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, revealed that in both cases there are different interpretations of the concepts of “belonging” and “status.” Anthropologist points: So, to be recognized as “middle class” in Buenos Aires, a person just needs to be a resident of the city and enjoy the urban lifestyle, while being recognized as “middle class” in Rio de Janeiro, both the more affluent groups as other, has its own meaning, different from other world cities. This interpretation is due to the extreme social hierarchy of the city, one of the reasons for the territorial link with this identity, a restricted both, especially the south of the city; and, secondly, Tijuca is associated with markers of status such as bookstores, cafes, tall buildings, and large shopping streets, wide sidewalks, and thinner trade. Good theaters, more specialized cinemas and bookstores and restaurants that do not fit in the genre “family only” are located in the southern part. The major natural attractions of the city – beaches, forests, and landfill, are also restricted to those places. The commercial and financial center of Rio city has no functionality over the weekend, except for one or another cultural center, thus strengthening this division and lack of a mass culture based on a wide range of cultural attractions, such as cheaper books, for example. Hence, and in contrast to Buenos Aires, for example, the “middle class” in Rio de Janeiro has a higher status (Markowitz, 2011, p. 201).

Class identity is relational, or while a group calls itself “middle class” in relation to the poor, it can be categorized differently in other contexts or in relation to other groups; for example, when compared to more prestigious segments, some groups may end up feeling less “middle class” and with more attributes of “poor.”

As pointed out by Souza (2010), the group in question has a work ethic, strongly influenced by family capital, where the transmission of examples and values of hard work are transmitted and they continued to do this even under adverse conditions. According to the sociologist, the legacy of economic capital is practically nil and cultural capital is an asset that, although present, is lower than the ruling elites; however, family structure is the foundation that will give support to the achievement of better living conditions and higher social distinction.

7 METHOD OF DOCUMENTARY INTERPRETATION

7.1 Karl Mannheim: a methodological approach

In this chapter, we assume that the differences in social environments also lead to differences in the expression of gender habitus. In each class there is something else to be male or female, although women and men each on the class boundaries have similarities. Differences and similarities are due to the fact that there is gender structured practices, each of the whole society, certain classes, limited fields or only small groups together. Against this background, Erving Goffman (1979) has talked about the sexual *habitus* addition also of “gender classes”, a term that is taken up by Bourdieu.

There some common characteristics on differet class of women that creates the main conception of “to be a woman” with all the sex appeal, kindness, submission/ subordination to serve a man (father, brothers, husband, boyfriend). However, every class has their owner particular way to incorporated and lives what is “to be a woman”. “Spirit” of domination unfortunately still make tiny social mobility and male domination question not been answers, that means social changes on women. That is the same in what happened on social inequality. What keeps some societies to don’t have change inequality between classes? What makes some powerful and others subordinated?

Some general hypotheses have been confirmed by the empirical field research:

- Gendered habitus tends to be reformed in all fields – the concept of woman as “reflexivity losers” due relative lack of mobility within fields.
- Every social class- *milieu*- has his unique core on what is “woman”.
- Forms of femininity have become naturalized across fields.

How is the relation between class and gendered habitus? In other words: how gender function – woman roles – in every class? The “gender-habitus-field-complex” can illustrate the “invisibility” of gender inequality for women to woman in contemporary culture. Regarding that, some specifically hypotheses have been formulate to which four social classes in Brazil. To help to seek that the method of interpretation from Karl Mannheim.

By using the documentary analysis of theoretical experiences as a methodological approach, we rethink the process and the treatment given to the interpretation of cultural objects.

Thus, Mannheim’s work teaches us to consider every product or cultural expression in its entirety, whose daily experiences, immediate, are not parts of a whole experience, but are constitutive of the real. In turn, this should also be present in the definition and development of each scientific object. If, on the one hand, concrete objects are relevant to the different branches of the human sciences, on the other hand, each branch owes its existence to an abstractive operation, which means it can explain fully and validly their objects only within the limits of its own conceptual framework and shall, at some point, refer to its concrete totality.

Mannheim Born in 1893 in Hungary, the son of a German-Jewish mother and Jewish -Hungarian father, he began his philosophy studies in Budapest, attending at the time the study group coordinated by Georg Lukacs, who, in turn, was a member of the cabinet in the communist government. Although Mannheim was not affiliated with the communist party, he was forced to leave the country after the fall of the regime, going first to Vienna and Freiburg until he reached Heidelberg, where he lived in the 1920s. In 1930, Mannheim was appointed to the sociology chair at the University of Frankfurt. With the rise of the National Socialist regime and the introduction of laws prohibiting the exercise of public office by Jews, Mannheim was dismissed from the University of Frankfurt and again forced to emigrate.

According to the German sociologist Ralf Bohnsack, Mannheim’s work can be divided into three phases, which are not only related to different geographical contexts or countries, but have different

intellectual orientations. In Hungary, Mannheim dedicated himself mainly to literary and philosophical themes. The period in which he lived in Germany corresponds to the sociological and philosophical phase, covering known works such as *The problem of generations* and *Ideology and Utopia*, as well as other works that Mannheim never published. In Great Britain, where he died in 1947, Mannheim was dedicated to teaching political analyzes of emerging contemporary issues, a topic related to his studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His writings only came to public attention in the 1980s with the publication of *Strukturen des Denkens (Structures of Thinking)* (1980), a compilation of two previously unpublished manuscripts.

According to Bohnsack, there are at least three reasons for the need to reconsider Mannheim's sociological theories at the beginning of this century:

- The combination of knowledge and thinking in the local context (*Standortgebundenheit oder des Verbundenheit Wissens und Denkens – Location, or connected knowledge and thinking*), which Mannheim calls “connective knowledge” (Kettler et al., 1982).
- Development of methodological reflections and an analytical method of action and/or daily practice that goes beyond the individual's theory of action and its intentions. In these Mannheim points out the kinds of sociological interpretation and presents the documentary method of interpretation as essential to the transcendence of the immanent approach to the socio-genetic approach. (Mannheim, 1952, p. 77-80; 242-255);
- Mannheim's contribution to the definition of concepts, such as *generation*, *social environment* (milieu), *style*, and *habitus* (Mannheim, 1952; 1982).

The ethnomethodological movement rescued, in a way, had fallen into oblivion and prompted a new look at the writings of Mannheim during the 1920's decade. In Germany, Bohnsack (1999b; 2001) has taken over and updated the documentary method of interpretation, both from the point of view of method and methodology, making it an analytical tool for empirical social research. Bohnsack puts the reconstruction of documentary direction at the center of the empirical analysis, which means that instead of reconstructing the course of action, we will analyze and reconstruct the meaning of this action in the social context in which it is inserted.

In an article published posthumously, Mannheim (1952) shows a method of analysis of worldviews (*Weltanschauungen*) and seeks to determine the methodological structure and the place of the concept within the historical and cultural sciences.

It is important to clarify what Mannheim (1980, p. 101) meant by “worldview” (*Weltanschauung*): it is the result of “a series of experiences or experiences linked to the same structure which, in turn, is constituted as a common basis of the experiences that pervade the lives of multiple individuals”.

However, we must not confuse “worldviews” with “world of images” (Weller, 2003) or something that has been thought or produced in theory: Mannheim's worldviews are constructed from practical actions and belong to the field he defined as “atheoretical” knowledge (pre-reflective). Therefore, the understanding of worldviews and collective orientations of a group is only possible from the explanation and theoretical conceptualization of this atheoretical knowledge.

Worldviews are situated between the social and spiritual levels. They do not consist of the whole of the spiritual formations present at a given time or the sum of individuals that belong to this time. Indeed, worldviews represent the whole series of experiences and experiments interconnected structurally which can be derived from both the formation of social groups and such creations spiritual. Worldviews are not presented as a noticeable volume, but can be understood when considered transversely with respect to a particular problem, thereby constituting a theoretical object (Mannheim, 1980, p. 101s).

The search for a suitable method for the task of transforming the knowledge gained in the pre-theoretical level of scientific knowledge should not be considered “empty building” or gratuitous speculation. According to the Mannheim, the cultural sciences have already begun the task of determining the methodological framework and the place the worldview concept occupies within the historical and cultural sciences.

Thus, Mannheim (1980) reverses the order and the researcher or scientist's point of view to get the concept analysis. For him, verification procedures or paths taken, the logic involved in the attempted solutions). The author questions the possibility of determining worldview at a given time in an objective and

scientific manner. This question, which long has been neglected because of the limited development of analytical research and increasing specialization of knowledge, then passed to attract the interest of experts on the need for a new synoptic approach, especially in relation to the historical and cultural disciplines.

In this new synoptic approach, we assign value to the historical process in its entirety, where knowledge of all phenomena of reality requires a prior investigation of its parts. Regarding the existential nature of a particular system of worldviews, one should not consider ideas or beliefs in isolation, but should understand them as an integral part of an interdependent system.

Until then, these disciplinary syntheses were being conducted hastily and uncritically, with a mixture of views, methods, and incongruous categories. According to Mannheim, these premature syntheses, analytical reflections on reality, involved the development of a dual process of specialization. Initially, various cultural fields, such as science, religion, and art, were isolated from each other and studied separately. The isolated domains, within which the entire culture was distributed, were not fully seen as they presented themselves in the theoretical pre-experience. Then, each domain was subject to various abstractions carried out from a number of different theoretical points of view.

This procedure, already widely used by the natural sciences, also proved to be methodologically fertile in historical and cultural disciplines, enabling the development and generalization, as well as the construction, of well-defined concepts. Moreover, this kind of expertise allowed the consistent and uniform application of specific procedures in abstractive more of these subjects taking them, because this methodological guidance, to form their own research objects.

However, despite this similarity, Mannheim notes that studies in the field of human sciences also differ essentially from the natural sciences by the ratio of their respective logical objects with the corresponding pre-scientific objects of daily experience. In this regard, he cites the example of the study of historical evolution of styles, whose aesthetic analysis the object is given as a pre-theory, the result of our concrete experience, prior to the analysis of certain work.

We can temporarily ignore the content and form of individual work periods under investigation, we can still neglect what is semantic level in this or that work, and consider it simply as a waypoint in a process transformation, reaching back and forth what's also at this time, precisely what we call style. But all of the unique elements of form and content that we ignore when our interest is focused on style, however, remains a problem to be solved by art history (Mannheim, 1952).

In the humanities, the problem remains that concrete experiences are denied in the context of abstraction. Although knowledge of reality is not possible from a previous investigation of its parts, that does not mean to first be studied in isolation, as a process of specialization. For example, when the fields of science, art, and religion are isolated from each other, and studied in isolation, the research ends up contributing to that culture and is perceived in a compartmentalized manner. Thus, the cultural manifestations may be taken as pre-theoretical experiments, subject to a number of abstractions and formed by different theoretical points of view. We understand that the very way the scientist approaches the object – alone – makes the object/ cultural product purports to atheoretical.

The essence of the interpretative procedure is to consider the various strata of cultural life and the relationship of each with the other, penetrating the maximum towards the fundamental totality, through the possibility of understanding the interconnections of the various branches of cultural studies.

7.2 Worldviews of display modes: the three types of meaning

To make the vision of scientific analysis of the object world, Mannheim presents a method of interpretation that characterizes as a documentary. In this approach, the object of study becomes a document that will be analyzed methodologically. According to the author, any cultural product can only be fully understood under the following conditions: first of all, must be seized as a “thing in itself”, regardless of their mediating function, followed by analysis of its mediating character in both directions defined (expressive of a hand and documentary another). Therefore, we will always find three levels of meaning (*Sinnschichten*) in any cultural product:

1. an objective level or immanent given naturally (e.g., gesture, or a symbol in the form of an artwork);

2. a significance level, which is transmitted through words or actions (for example, as expression or as a reaction to something); and
3. a documentary level, i.e., a document of practical action.

Seeking to clarify the differences between the three levels towards a cultural product, Mannheim (1964, p. 44) comments that:

Initially it is necessary to point out the differences and the place in which they are. If we look at a “natural object”, we will at first sight see what characterizes it ... A cultural product, on the other hand, can not be understood in its true sense if we simply stick to that “level of Sense “it conveys when we look at it entirely in its objective sense. It is necessary to consider its expressive and documentary meaning if we are to exhaust its meaning entirely [our translation].⁴⁴

Transposition of the “natural” methods for cultural analysis would imply the reduction of understanding of the meanings of cultural production, since the physical manifestation and/or natural composed of only an immanent dimension of the work of art. As an example, the author presents the analysis of a marble statue: texture, marble color, rock purity, i.e. all the physical properties of marble belong to different levels of beauty perceived by the sculptor who transforms the marble into a work of art. Likewise, treatment of the architectural space in which the work is belongs to different planes. These aspects (as well as the beauty of the sculpture) may be seized immediately by the viewer, but reveal nothing but something in itself, that is, the objective sense. Reaching the other levels of meaning is a fundamental task to understand the manifestations of any cultural product in its entirety.

One might think that the possibilities of interpretation of this example have been exhausted, but the above example also reveals another dimension: It is possible for the analysis of the situation observed to take a totally different direction, leading for example to the conclusion that offered alms was an act of “hypocrisy.” At this level of interpretation, the objective sense, as well as the intentions embedded in the action, are not relevant to the analysis. What is interesting about this third level of interpretation is the discovery of the documentary sense of action, i.e., the analysis of this act, even inadvertently, documents or reveals something about the friend who offered alms. From the moment the action becomes a document for the theoretical interpretation, that is, from the moment the act of giving alms was interpreted theoretically as “hypocrisy”, the direction of action becomes subject to interpretation, but of a nature different from what has been carried out to date. The same technique of interpretation can be applied to the analysis of other manifestations of the friend’s personality, such as his facial expressions, his gestures, his gait, his speech rhythm. Therefore, the interpretation should not remain at the level of analysis of the intentions of those who offered alms (expressive sense) or at the level of analysis of the purposeful character of almsgiving (objective sense). The whole process of interpretation becomes a sort of proof or document to the synoptic assessment of the person who offered alms, covering not only aspects of moral character but also the habitus (Mannheim, 1964, p. 108s5). It should be noted that this method of analysis of cultural products or situations of life and daily actions is constantly used, noting that the latest level of interpretation (documentary) provides a way of essential understanding and should not be confused with the first two levels.

The objective sense comprises a self-contained, complex meanings given and readily observable; the expressive sense needs the checkpoints beyond the technical work itself, entering aspects that reveal the historical flow and psychic experiences of the artist. In the words of Mannheim, in the center of analysis is the “man behind the work done.” But the documentary sense moves in another dimension, which is not intended for the artist, establishing itself as an issue and not as a temporal historical process, in which certain experiences are updated. Here the interests, character, ethos – the essential nature – manifests themselves in artistic creations. The difference between the expressive meaning and documentary knowledge can be understood if we imagine ourselves living with the artist, spending every living minute in this task, taking into account the artist’s moods and desires. Proceeding in this way we would come to understand the significance of his work and we would have a proper picture of the available data stream, but still lack insight to

⁴⁴ “Inicialmente é necessário apontar as diferenças e o lugar em que se encontram. Se olharmos para um ‘objeto natural’, veremos à primeira vista, aquilo que o caracteriza [...] Um produto cultural, por outro lado, não pode ser compreendido em seu próprio e verdadeiro sentido se nos atermos simplesmente sobre aquele ‘nível de sentido’ que ele transmite quando o olhamos inteiramente em seu sentido objetivo. É necessário considerar seu sentido expressivo e documentário, se quisermos esgotar inteiramente seu significado”.

the artist's personality or ethos and the artist's worldview. However, another researcher with less familiarity and access to data and the artist's actions, but with a "keen sense documentary" could rebuild with a small effective materials at your disposal a characterization of worldviews and ways of life and work of the artist.

7.3 Method of interpretation: levels of meaning

Another reading and application of the documentary method of interpretation was developed by sociologist Ralf Bohnsack (among others: 1999 and 2001a). Based on the differentiation of the three "levels of meaning" presented by Mannheim, Bohnsack updated the documentary interpretation, both from the point of view of method and methodology, and transformed it into an instrument of analysis for empirical social research of a reconstructive nature. Bohnsack puts the reconstruction of the third level of meaning at the center of empirical analysis, which means that instead of reconstructing the course of action (objective or immanent level), we will begin to analyze and reconstruct the meaning of this action in the social context in which it is inserted (documentary level).

The search for documentary meaning implies a "second-order observation" (Luhmann, 1990) that allows access to pre-reflexive knowledge or "tacit knowledge" of actors (Polanyi, 1985; Bohnsack, 2001). The documentary level presupposes a change in the posture of the observer who, instead of casting the question what, will ask how, i.e., how the practice being observed is produced or realized? In this transcendence of the question what for the question as – called by Mannheim as a sociogenetic or functional stance – the *modus operandi* of practical action becomes one of the main elements of the analysis.

Documentary interpretation is not part of theories or methodologies elaborated previously: these are developed or incorporated in a reflexive way during the research process. Reconstruction is one of the main tools of the documentary method of interpretation developed by Ralf Bohnsack, thus differentiating himself from other qualitative approaches and / or "standardized" methods, which are characterized by the prior elaboration of hypotheses and the verification or verification of these. In the process of interpretation. The documentary analysis aims at the discovery or indiciality of the social spaces of conjunctive experiences of the researched group, the reconstruction of their world views and the *modus operandi* of their practical actions. For this, the differentiation between understanding (*Verstehen*) and interpretation (*Interpretieren*) is fundamental:

Mannheim has two propositional conclusions. It is necessary and important for the researcher to focus attention on submerged everyday experiences, but that part of the meaning of all sociological interpretation; and a system of concepts for cultural sciences across different times and historical experiences should be implemented.

Regarding the first conclusion, according to Mannheim, every experience deserves to be interpreted, and this characterizes the documentary method of interpretation. Experiences belong to an atheoretical field implies a partial knowledge of the own social environment or a certain historical period. The experiences, more immediate, are not abstracted from temporality and a given social structure. Rather, the uniqueness is given by mediations between different times and places.

Nevertheless, the search for a synthesis of the methodological proposal of Mannheim is not done by an accumulation or addition of parts or facts, nor with the Cartesian method of vision defined as a hierarchy of valuation of phenomena from the simplest to the most complex. The search for a synthesis, as postulated and as the purpose of its methodological design implies, above all, recognize that each observation is integrated with a cultural totality.

Mannheim understands culture as an evolving historical process. Thus, a system of concepts must be operationalized to "cross various spheres of cultural activity and also cross cultural successive stages" (Mannheim, p. 75). At this point, we still need more reflective caution. The use of concepts in Mannheim proceeds in the same manner as in its methodological procedure, i.e., derivative and non-accumulative. As there are observed experiences and events that still require further actions. Would be inadmissible for Mannheim (p. 66/131), who said: "Fix the genesis of a form of experience at the time when the concept that defines it is designed".

It is necessary to recognize two things: 1) turn into document/ transcriptions/ interpretation of experienced on field- what is atheoretical; and 2) the system of concepts used are not processed separately. Mannheim proposed dialectic of positive knowledge and a movement of integration between theory and

empiricism. There is no valuation of experiences as intentional carriers of meaning, and theory cannot alone give meaning to the experience. For each element of observation, concepts are invoked and formulated to mediate the interpretation of each experience. He also proposes the verifiability of its nature of theorizing; he said, that intuition is responsible for an objective verification that can be achieved in two ways: 1) empirical confirmation in historical material; 2) attention to establishment of links connecting various documentary phenomena (p.77/146). However, in Mannheim's writings, this rationalization does not proceed as a logical deduction of theoretical principles.

You must also be aware that this link with other documents and historical phenomena does not imply a determination and not the privilege of a time section over another. The documentary method of the procedure involves, as writes Mannheim, temporal analysis, i.e., the historical experience in question cannot be explained alone, but requires for its understanding one temporalities overlap and, therefore, a system of concepts must be relied upon.

Forms of experiences originate and are configured by a company in which or retain existing forms in advance or turn them into a mode in which the historian can observe.

7.4 The analysis of interviews according to the documentary method of interpretation

The main question here is how "engineering habitus" that in the first instance presents itself as a pre-dominantly feminized habitus – because its inclinations, competences and dispositions are homologous to the cultural repertoire traditionally associated with what "to be a woman" is – may have semantic level interference by the informal education of children. This research is based from the perspective advanced by Bourdieu, in particular, the key notions of habitus, capital and gender, to explore how particular competences; dispositions and classificatory principles operate in the field of engineering.

The study is based on qualitative in-depth analysis of the socialization trajectories of 30 mothers divided by social class. We used Souza's (2011) classification of four Brazilian social classes: *ralé* (marginalized), *batalhadores* (workers), stabilized (middle class) and ruling (upper class). The field research took place in Rio de Janeiro City. This city was chosen for field research since it is a perfect model of Brazil mixed cultural.

The socialization trajectories of the women were valuable to demonstrate that the experiences of women are patterned by a double bind in cultural repertoires, which affect traditional associations with gender. An engineering gendered habitus not conforming to the stereotypical and dominant masculine is in evidence, as women not only develop competences and dispositions homologous to the traditional masculine habitus, but also show inclinations and affinities commonly associated with femininity. Interviewing women that had at least one daughter, was extremely substantial, because that way we could examine three generations of women: since we asked about the background of the interviewed that led to the first generation (her mother); talking about the education she gave to her daughter as the second generation (herself) and the third generation that is the daughter herself. We also observed the treatment, speech and social coexistence in each social class involved on this research.

As we have seen previously, Mannheim states that the transition from immanent meaning to documentary implies a shift from the question what to the question how. Such a procedure does not exclude the question by what during the interview analysis process, but requires a different treatment of the question by how. This methodological difference between the immanent sense and the documentary sense corresponds to the difference between the first and second order observations, which in practical terms is carried out in two stages, called by Bohnsack as formulated interpretation and reflected interpretation. In this way, the questionnaire of questions of our research aimed to understand how the process of "socialization of gender" occurred in the different social classes. That is, instead of asking fixed questions of "what" or "which", the interviewee, she was asked to describe the childhood or the memory she had of the mother.

The interpretation formulated includes different stages, of which we highlight: (a) the organization of the topics discussed in the interview; (b) the selection and transcription of the themes (or passages) that will be analyzed; (c) the detailed analysis of the immanent sense. Besides the thematic organization, the interpretation formulated seeks to decode the colloquial language used in the interview. In other words, what the informants or interviewees said was rewritten, bringing the content of their speech into a language that could also be understood by those who do not belong to the researched medium. At this stage of analysis we included comments that refer to the knowledge that has about the group or medium researched, as we can see in the table below.

The choice of this segment as an illustration of the stages of the interpretation formulated corresponds, on the one hand, to the central theme of the research – the differences in being female in each of the social classes – theme brought in the interview on qualitative questions where the interviewee spoke about each topic without Interruption, but direction, if necessary. Transcription and analysis of the initial passage reveals important aspects about the interaction between the interviewer / interviewee and helps to identify the group's "frame of reference" (see table 1). The interview was initiated with a question about age, origin, educational formation, which stimulated a deeper discussion about the lived experiences and not the mere description of facts, a procedure that was maintained throughout the interview. During the discussion of a particular topic, the interviewer remained in the position of listener, interfering only when requested (e.g., at the moment the interviewee signals that a subject has already been discussed or has not been understood suggests the formulation of a new question), or in situations that require the resumption of conducting the interview (e.g. interruption of third parties, interviewee were quite or embarrassed). The possibilities for analysis, both at the level of formulated interpretation and reflected interpretation, depend on the quality of the empirical material. In this sense, the knowledge about the medium researched, as well as the methodological care in conducting the interview, were fundamental.

In the sequence, a reflected interpretation was carried out that implied the second order observation, in which interpretations were realized, being able to draw on the acquired knowledge about the researched medium. While the interpretation interpreted analyzes the basic structure of a text (thematic organization), the reflected interpretation seeks to analyze both the content obtained in the interview as the "reference frame" (table 1), which guides speech, the actions of the individual or group. The motivations behind these actions. Goffman (1996) refers to the term "frame" as a cognitive and practical device for organizing social experience that allows us to understand and participate in what happens to us. A framework not only structures the way we define and interpret a situation, but also the way we engage in action.

The theoretical explanation of atheistic knowledge – as Mannheim once said – presupposes a work of interpretation and becomes the task of the researcher. However, this knowledge can also be understood without an explanation, that is, without an interpretation among those who share the same social space of conjunctive experiences. Women belonging to the same milieu, for example, understand one another by successive reference to tacit knowledge, without any need to interpret one another. This is what Mannheim (1980) defined as understanding (*Verstehen*).

Different from the understanding, the interpretation, that is, the theoretical explanation of the modus operandi that guides the practical action, and through which the pattern of orientation is constituted and reproduced, requires a specific line or instance of analysis – a sociogenetic posture. This analytical instance is also associated with a "bracketedness of the validity character" of social facts (*"Einklammerung des Geltungscharakters"* – Mannheim, 1980, p. 88). Placing in parentheses means suspending the claim to the truth or normative authenticity of the narrated stories. In this sense, the saturation of the facts narrated in the interview conducted in this research is a concern of documentary analysis: the researcher's task consists in questioning what is documented in the interviewees' descriptions of their attitudes, their habitus and orientation patterns (Bohnsack, 2002).

After the interpretation formulated corresponds, we created ideal type for each social class. The main characteristic of the ideal type (Weber, 1979) is not to exist in reality, but to serve as a model for the analysis and understanding of concrete, actually existing cases. Weber (1979), through the classification and comparison of several types of cities, determined the essential characteristics of the city; in the same way, he researched the different forms of capitalism to establish the ideal characterization of modern capitalism; and, starting from the examination of the types of organization, presented the ideal type of bureaucratic organization.

The study advances the hypothesis that the informal education between women are engineering drives this process of socialization on gender inequality, challenging traditional gender divisions and propelling a more flexible gendered engineering habitus in the field.

7.5 The sample

The 40 women consisted of mothers of at least one daughter from 15 *ralé*, 12 mothers from *batalhadores* and 13 Stabilized. Eight of them were aged between 21 and 24; the others were 26 and 35 years old. The Women Interviewed were recruited via social class first criteria or previous interviewee indicates a newer

one. All sample was interviewed in Rio de Janeiro, capital. We choose Rio, because it is a city representative of Brazilian Population, because the city is designed with years of a lot migrant's people from different states in Brazil.

Qualitative in-depth interviews lasting from one to one hour and a half were carried out with each woman. Conversations were audio-recorded and transcribed. Notes on the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee were taken immediately after each interview. Following transcription, each interview was carefully read through; the key themes in the narrative outlined and the transcribed texts were classified according to each of the six emerging topics of analysis.

Our theoretical framework grounded in the work of the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (outlined in the previous section) and the documentary method of interpretation from Mannheim (above quoted), the six analyzing topics defined to structure our interpretation of the interview material were: (a) cultural capital and the influence of "classed" gender, (b) socialization process of the women, (c) the naturalized socio-cultural particular characteristic of gender in each social class, (d) gender strategies/ways expressed in classes, (e) the meaning of "being a woman" to every social class, and (f) whether social habitus affects broader aspects of living and trajectories differently in social classes.

8 ANALIZISE OF GENDERED HABITUS IN SOCIAL CLASS

8.1 Classification of Gender

Feminists have been intensely interested for several decades in the two modes of thinking gender: bilateral gender as male/female or male domination. This Chapter we will address a third one: the role of gendered habitus through class. Within this intuit, we interviewed woman in differences social classes (see Chapter 5 about social class in Brazil). The base of habitus is specific social conditions (enunciated in Chapter 2 Bourdieu studies gender). Actors who have such specific conditions in common tend to experience social situations in similar way, and to act alike because they have developed a habitus which corresponds to social condition they live in. According to Bourdieu (1977, p. 83) the habitus serves as a “matrix of perception”, appreciations, and actions”. A habitus serves as a “*sense of social orientation*” in the society (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 544). In other words, that is no neutral means of orientation in the social world but rather a mechanism of reproduction of social inequality. In the following, the formation of a sex (gendered social constructed) habitus is examined. We do not analyse here all forms of sex, but concentrate on the creation of femininity as a dimension of habitus “incorporated”. In this regard, we restrict ourselves again only out to clarify the differences in femininity between classes. We examine only one aspect of gender issues, the masculinity and heterodox forms are excluded.

The habitus is pronounced in specific social environments. Similar living conditions lead to similar patterns of action and similar habit, as you orient the long term in a similar environment and have to take appropriate action (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 544). If the social environment of the classes is different, also the habit in each class will be designed differently. Therefore, Bourdieu interpreted the habit in the first place as a class habitus.

Social position is mainly conceived of as social class position by Bourdieu and with *habitus* he refers to *class habitus* on majority of cases. On this Chapter, we consider is likely to use the notion of habitus for the examination of “gender action” that place under several social conditions. As in the case of gender it is not necessary to limit the usage of habitus to those social actions determined by class membership. By doing so, the logic, of notion of habitus will not be affected. In the perspective of a theory of action gender is bound to a distinctive practice and is maintained through such practice. In other words, the social existence of gender is bound to specific *habitus*, which generates a particular social practice. In a similar perspective Goffman (1979) argues “that what, if anything, characterizes persons as class members is sex their competence and willingness to sustain an appropriate schedule of displays”.

As we previously describe, Bourdieu defines habitus embodied and natural practice par excellence. Stefan Hirschauer (1993, p. 60) speaks on the body as “fleshy memory of performances”: the body “knows, in this sense, how to perform in order to be taken as woman or man; gender is habitualized in the body. “The social world constructs body as gendered reality as memory of perception and appreciation. People acquire the gender-appropriate habitus not intentionally, but through socialization (Giddens, 1984, p. 6-7). Social Practice has engraved and inscribed in the body in the form of habitualization in more hidden, making the fact invisible that the gendered body is a product of culture constitutes after the competence of doing gender. The “passing” of sexuality – gender habitus – may be understood as an eradication of disposition in the body.

Femininity is a form of cultural capital-gender dispositions in each social class. Groups of women in diverse classes share the same space and comply with the same sets of rules e.g.: schools/kindergartens, work, public space. Meanwhile, each group has their own institutions: associations, media, cultural rules, knowledge, practices and ability *and individual distinctions, i.e., bodily disposition, style, and clothing lines*. “*Doing Gender*” (West; Zimmermann, 1979) *is based upon the gender habitus as “modus operadi” the habitus guarantees*

the orderliness of the gender-performance. For the individual possesses a gender (“opus operatum”) due to the habitus insofar as she/he does gender (“modus operandi”).

Gendered habitus reinforces position of “established” groups or the marginal status of “outsider” groups. For that the social groups use all different forms of power held by social agents, as Bourdieu called Capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The capital can be differentiated in every specified social group as: economic (wealth), social (social connections), cultural (artistic, taste), symbolic (prestige), linguistic (vocabulary and pronunciation), academic (tertiary qualifications), and corporeal (e.g., physical attractiveness). The concept of Femininity is present in all social class, but the question is how every class defines Femininity? As class with take in consideration cultural tradition (symbolic distinction and class excluding each other) and mobility between the class. Common cultural ideally demonstrated neutral distraction leads to practical no or low social mobility. This shows the invisible boundaries that not be crossing by people– this where “class ends”.

It is significant to enforcer, there is diverse milieus in one class. For instance in the *ralé*– we can see three different groups: rebel and become criminals; some that reseal and get frustrated (drink to deaf); *tryers* (try to move at least symbolically, decently like work, cleaning).

How differentiate gender? Model? Some classes can try to reproduce the upper pursued by the media, and the concept of legitimate cultural. However, every class elaborated and live, unconscious, the owner concept of gender. How is to be a women in a specifically class? What are the roles they have to play on the social environmental?

For example, in middle class it was observed more clearly some mind change over the generation. The change from conservative to more open or tolerant. Try to not repeat the “conservative way there were born. Also because the considerable crescent participation of women on Labor market, effecting on participation no real daily decision at home and social interaction.

The power of an agent to accumulate various forms of capital, and to define those forms as legitimate, is proportionate to their position in the social space e.g.: Brazilian field: women learn about “importance” of their body and how to be behave like “woman”. To “become” a woman is, as well, a perception of themselves on the Gender identity reveal both: reproduction/repetition and innovation/ change.

8.2 The common in gender on social classes

The influence of the social classes is a very significant role on the construction and strengthen of the gendered habitus. The impact of informal education on the gendered habitus is crucial when it is regarding to turn naturalizing relations and social roles. The habit is pronounced in specific social environments. Similar living conditions lead to similar patterns of action and similar habit, as you orient the long term in a similar environment and have to take appropriate action (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 544). If the social environment of the classes is different, also the habit in each class will be designed differently. Therefore, Bourdieu interpreted the habit in the first place as a class habitus. What is common is every social class in Brazil about the concept of gender?

That can be observed on the relation between mother and daughter, reflected discourse of the mothers during interview. Most of them, for example, use a character on TV, for example, to explaining how “normal” and “natural” is that the general woman should find a nice husband; call the baby girl a princess and a baby boy “champion” or what is “appropriated” to “a good girl” to do, and so on. Another, methodological step is observation of the interaction between mothers/daughters on every four different social class. It helps a lot to conform or reject some pre-information collected on the interviews and also to test the hypotheses.

Most women share a common space, at school, on the job, in the household and in public space, and are subjected to similar expectations. But the similarities are differentiated according to class because the classes mostly choose different schools, jobs and organizations. Each class is further differentiated into habitus groups, ethos and subcultures. According to the social commonalities of most women, there are some “normal” female characteristics that are shared by all classes. These include the relevance of sexual attractiveness, niceness, family orientation and inferior position to that of the man. These “attributes” are incorporated mainly by girls who thereby become women. In our interviews women in every social class talked about household tasks or their family and especially motherhood. In most interviews, women have express that “take care of the house” is for woman and showing a particular insisting to talk about and to be proud to be the person to carry out about the family– even if she has a job outside of the house.

Despite many decades of emancipation and transformation of capitalism, the primary social function of women is the production and care of offspring. The woman is oriented toward the family, the man toward the outside world. This ideological construction is known and works as invisible gender domination where the dominated (women) sometimes can feel it, but that the dominant (men) don't feel, don't see and not talk about it. Discuss about gender inequality is so irrelevant for those that don't live it, that is not even brought other discourses. Thinking of gender inequality, thinking about racism. No one is born racists, they learn within social practices and informal education at first. Learn that the black is inferior and the white is superior is thinking of gender inequality is thinking on inequality itself: it is something obscure, but strong enough to drive social practices and thoughts.

In our interpretation of the interview we could find that women in each social class incorporated something like a common gender habitus. It becomes to be "so natural" that no one questions about-not men, not women.

Brazilian society is very diverse, but one thing they have in common is the sense regarding gender classification and all gender inequality are pre-concepts. Most Brazilians agree on binary and biological gender classification: man and woman. This "pre-conception" disposes individuals to assigning predetermined labels to each gender.

Common of the gender to all the social classes would be the naturalized in practices: 1) Across all social classes, the research subjects tended to understand themselves as generally "inferior" compared to male gender. In other words, women in each social class carry with them general classification of inferiority regard to female gender. The feminine being independent of the social class demonstrates itself coerced to be diminished and to consider that it is worth less than the masculine gender. This inferior classification is more perceptible in *ralé* class and *batalhadores* class while recurring both the middle class and the upper class of a subtler form of establish this inferiority. The undermining of this genre is perceived in a hard, sometimes violent, both bodily and verbally. The undermining of this genre is perceived in a hard, sometimes violent, both bodily and verbally. Already in the middle and upper classes, the incorporation of the sense of "being woman" as being something "with less value" is deprived of home, it is falsified with seemingly more pleasing social arrangements. In other words, while the ragweed woman learns that she must work hard indoors and come home and work hard. Middle and upper-class women outsource certain (or all) "obligations" to home and motherhood, and spend time in activities in the public sphere such as playing tennis, shopping for oneself, finding friends, and getting back to work quickly.

Of course there are women who fulfill the functions and who perceive their vulnerability, but here we will deal with the social factor as a whole – the naturalization of the gender inequality in the feminine habitus. What we want to call attention to here is the phantasy that has become unquestionable truth, which leaves women prey to the thought of maternal, feminine and household chores. And more than that, they distanced them from public life in an active way. All disposition makes women in all social classes think and believe that they are incapable and occupy them with maternal/ household functions, play kitchen and dolls – while men have time to make decisions, action in public life. In other words, social dispositions construct a habitus of gender inequality that are present in every social class, but occur in deferent intensity regarding to the class.

Women spends a lot time busy with thinking "unimportantly/minor" things as household, physical appeal, dream of marry, that escape from then, without they even notice, real participation. This simple action can make women be fairway to think "what else they can do for life". Like all habitus, gender inequality creates in the "head of women" even if implicit, obscure and inconsistent, forms or model of conduct that are understood as natural, realized in an "automatic" way, without self-reflection, because it is marked by the legitimacy of "to be a woman", "to give themselves out", "to take care of the family".

This game of obscure domination gives the illusion of women who are actively participating, productive, creating a collective belonging. However, regardless of social class choices are less subjective than they seem.

8.3 The gender different in each social class

Are girls a potential different woman? First of all, let us examine the question of what it means "to be a woman"? This question was made for every mother interviewed on each class. Within the class one learns to act in a specific way as a woman. Woman has to learn to be as a woman and to act according to the

social environment. Therefore, the education of young girls- conscious and unconscious- needs to attach the necessary importance (see Krüger, 1992). The gender habitus types in the Brazilian society do not only differ in their dispositions, but they also use them very differently as capital. Therefore, each milieu uses gender relatively differently. And each gender uses its habitus differently as well.

The main question: what does it mean to you to be a woman? Although for a lot of women interviewed this question seems to be obvious, this start was extremely fruitful, because it refers to, on majority, as not at first as biological different, but emotional and behaviors different between man and woman. In common answered on any social class to that question we got that women are more “delicate”, “sensible”, “fragile”, “family”, “emotional”. For some Fighter interviewers, being a woman is as well “horrible”, “more work”. For Established and Upper Class Women pointed as “obligation with husband”, “family dependence”. Asking the meaning of being a woman provokes reactions of amazement and objection. Most of the women assured that this was a senseless question, because in their every-day-life being a man is not a topic of reflection. Therefore, they explain that they have never before thought about this question.

With the interpretation formulated corresponds, on the one hand, to the central theme of the research - the differences in being female in each of the social classes - the interviews emerged direction and helps to identify the social class “frame of reference”. We created the **table 1** to help to visualize the associated attributes of gender in each class. Using the documentary method as discussion analysis of the interviews, we could interpret some particular categories in what is to be a woman in each category: a) body image; b) organization of time; c) emotional capital; d) income; e) concept of maternity; f) childhood/parenting; g) domestic division of labor; h) family support and i) romantic relationships

Table 1: Class and Gender in Brazil

	Marginalized (Ralé)	“Fighters” (Batalhadores)	Established (Estabilizados)	Ruling (Dominantes)
Body Image	Sexualized	Used strategically	Secondary, not used strategically	Sublimated, secondary
Time Organization	Almost inexistent, stuck in the present or past	Focus on work vs. free time	Disciplined, oriented toward the future	Focused on long-term planning
Emotional Capital	Unstable, emotionally insecure	Unstable, weak family support and emotional stability	Emotionally stable, some family support, emotional stability	Stable, strong family support, strong emotional stability
Income	Unstable income, Resource exchange with relatives	Unstable income	Stable income	Stable income, dependent on the family/ men
Concept of Maternity	Central	Substantial	Optional	Outsourced
Childhood/ Parenting	Restrictions without explanation, unstructured family, physical violence	Restrictions without explanation, unstructured family, physical violence	External motivation, psychological support, communication between family members	External motivation, psychological support, communication between family members

	Marginalized (Ralé)	“Fighters” (Batalhadores)	Established (Estabilizados)	Ruling (Dominantes)
Domestic Division of Labor	Domestic work restricts women	Domestic labor is feminine	Division of domestic tasks between women and men but women are responsible for the home	Most domestic labor outsourced
Family Support	Communication restricted	Communication punitive	Explanatory communication	Robust, complex and explicative communication
Romantic Relationships	Painful, volatile	Painful, volatile, necessary	Stable relationships or appearances, partnership	Stable relationships or appearances, partnership
“To be woman”	Triple journey (home, work, servile home), sexually active	Triple journey (home, work, servile home), sexually active	Servile, domestic partner, caregiver, sexual when necessary	Docile, feminine, caring, sexual when necessary

Table 1 summarizes the results of the interviews with regard to some of the most relevant categories. While many women consider their lives difficult and underprivileged in comparison to men, being a woman in the marginalized class is especially tough. The social division of tasks is much more defined in this class. For a marginalized woman, her body is the most important capital, which defines her value to a large degree. Her body is sexualized, both by men and women. Since there is competition among the women of this class, they naturalize that they should perform their sexual “functions” according to male wishes. It comes as no surprise that fidelity is a much more important criterion to define an ideal partner than in the other classes.

8.3.1 Women of the *Ralé*

Usually, to be a woman with all pre-classifications and pre-judging built-in on that category can be difficult. However, being a woman in the marginalized class- *Ralé* is a much more difficult.

The social division of tasks to the woman on the *Ralé* class are much more marked and defined. That is, what is expected of a woman in Brazilian society is much more visible and perceptible in this *milieu*.

Using the concepts of documentary meaning (listed above the method chapter) to refer to the reception of this cultural production of gender habitus. For that we separated every interview in topics using the **table 1**. After that we selected the phase that was consisted meaningful after interpreted them. It is proposed here an approach that goes beyond the theory of the individual and his action, but transcends the levels of intuitive or deductive analysis of the object.

Within this decoding we seek, in this way, an analysis of worldviews and as the key elements for the understanding of the social organization of the genre “to be a woman”.

Analyzing the discuss of Marginalized woman - read here woman that is born on the *Ralé* - we could see that their body are the most important capital, which defines her value to a large degree. The body is very sexualized, both by men and women of this milieu as we can see here:

“We have to be cute. It does not. He likes it when I stay like this” said Joana, 32 years referring to the partner from 2 years”. She speaks very “naturally” and open about her

“We have to take care of ourselves. A woman cannot get home and stay anyway. The man loses interest and he will get another if he does not find an attractive woman at home” affirm Jessica, 25, when we talk about body and sexuality.

The body and sexuality can, and usually, are used by the women is the social class as strategies. In addition, the vast majority agreements with the idea that woman should be and be sexy to their man. On the interviews of women of *Ralé*, we interpreted on the discourse a strong competition among the women, they naturalize that they should perform their sexual “functions” whenever the partner wants. In this class,

the women are perceived among them as competitors. It's like you're on a battlefield, they seem to cannot trust any other women.

"If you do not do it, someone come and do it for you" affirm Marta, 34 years, about what women should do. She understands the sexual competition like something "unquestionable".

"In this life we can only trust in ourselves and in God" Joana mumble about other people specially women. Due that insecurity and no trustful based relationships, it comes as no surprise that fidelity is a much more important criterion to define an ideal partner than in the other classes.

Violence physically and symbolic and abuse in childhood are much more common on than in the other classes. The relationships parent/children are harsh, punitive and without showing much affection. *"...My mom spanked me and my sisters....I remember one day me and my sisters were fighting about something in the room-children stuff- my mom came and just bit us all. She did ask anything. We cried and were quiet"*. Edilene here, show the abusive relation in the Ralé class, because the communication is something very uncommon the body was the way of communicate, even if for punish to learn.

Based on insecurity and violence abuse, the social relations and the future are uncertain for this milieu. Under these conditions, there are not only humble financial but also humble emotional, increasing insecurity and low self-esteem. Emotionally woman from *Ralé* is wick and precise instable. That gap of emotional stability can prevent the women of this class to succeed and try to cross boards between classes.

"I'm fine, I would not change anything in my life. I have what I need, my family, my husband". Joana reports as if her life was something she would not change in which she is happy. However, in fact, during the whole interview she lets out that she was not that happy and shows frustrations and the desire to change.

On the categories of organization of time, this milieu has none or no complex based in the day. That means that time is not organized in a productive way. Everything is done without planning and these women live "one day at a time", the immediacy is notable in the daily life projection.

"I get up and see what I have to do in the day. I go to the kitchen, I make food for the children. They study nearby, so I'll take them there if there's no one to take. And so it goes, I'm doing until the night" Priscila can illustrate here how she and women organize their daily lives.

I do all. I have to, if I don't clean, it would despaired. But I like it. It is my house, I have to leave everything nice.. (Edilene, 30 years in relation to the division of knowledge and tasks between genders. The women in this class usually unfold tasks in the private field: domestic work, childcare and companion. There is presents a strong division of task in a hyper-sexic dissolution. Mothers are still responsible for the education and encouragement of their children.

In social practices it is very common to see division of space between men and women. For example on a birthday or celebratory parties the women stand on one side of the table, or in the kitchen serving everyone. This is not an exclusivity of the lower class, but is essential, more recurrent and stronger.

"We will come in the way we give. There is a day that a job of cleaning a house appears, we will go, but when it does not have the thing gets ugly you have to squeeze everywhere, ask for help. I'm not ashamed, we help each other here" (Marta, 34). Financially, they have no income e or are dependent of someone (usually a male).

The role of a male person in woman's *ralé* is very significant and can cause. Considering to maternity, they think they are "born to be" mothers and that is natural. This set some pressure on the social role of woman in *ralé*.

A missing or poor communication between family members is another characteristic of the marginalized class. This scarcity of words and feeling may deprive women of this class of a more elaborate articulation about life which will influence self-confession.

"My mother never talked to me. We did not have a dialogue. Only if something had happened or if something had happened in the family. Speech people spoke with neighbor, street kid ... but inside the house, I do not remember ...", Joana, 32.

Along with this, one of the most striking differences between the social classes interviewed is emotional security. Emotional security provides women a with security for decision-making. This seems very understandable, but it is essential for several factors to understand their life: initiative, courage to try new

opportunities, decisions. The lack of security makes social mobility almost impossible, due to lack of courage and initiative for change.

8.3.2 Women of the *Batalhadores*

The mothers who make part of the “Fighter class” – *batalhadores*, symbolic capital is less important as the *ralé*. Body capital is something sexual appeal, used as strategies on life.

I think the girl has to look beautiful, yes. If I had more time I would take better care of myself. But if smpre I can and the money left over I do something, I like my hair done. Man does not like ugly and demeaned woman, Juliana, 32 years.

Emotionally, the woman from *batalhadores* are instable and any external factor, like loose a job, divorce, death of a family member, it will make then collapse. Emotionally, this milieu presents unstable lower family emotional support as well, because as like in the *ralé*, communication skills are poorly used and rarely the parents explant something for their children, or have a simple conversation. The communication between mother and daughter in this class is marked by a punitive education, full of threats.

I work in a restaurant in the center of the city, 7 days' week for 12h or more a day. ...my mother never talked to me...she never explained things to me. I wanted to have a mother... I remember that sometimes we would arrive to talk to her and she was already gyming, call us names (xingar), then we learn to don't say anything... Liliana, 31.

On the categories of organization of time is basically bilateral divided in work hard- 14 hours or more a day- and days free (but work inside the house), because the women in *batalhadores* usually use the day off to take care of the households and family- bring children in doctor, help with the homework from school, for example.

I leave the house the sun is not rise. Every day is the same thing... I take the bus from home to work, at least 2 hours. I go into the supermarket and I do not stop until 20 o'clock. When I get home, it only gives time for nothing, Tatiana, 28 years.

Financially, they are Fighter, working very hard for some amount of money, but they have a fix income, that creates a bit of stability on their lives. The male presence for woman's *batalhadores* is understated as necessary are very significant and can be an element of instability in time on their lies. For example, in the case of a separation, they may lose fragile instability that they make up. Women in this social class, work outside the house, usually in some jobs that are characterized for a very long journey per day and low paid. Consequently, the mothers in these milieu are not very present on their children lives. The relationship mother/daughter, for examples is fragile, absent. However, those mothers provide things, still simple, but they invest in give to their children what they did had opportunity themselves.

All I that is last over from my payment is for them (her children). The only think I want is they study...they be someone in their lives

I don't have time to do much with my kids, but I work for them. Everything I get is to make our life more comfortable and vive food in the house. I was already working at their age. But today I just want them to study, be someone in life. Marcela, 29 anos.

I work like crazy here...I don't have a life. It is from home to work, work to home. I came home so tired that I just want to sleep...But there I don't have quite either... always have soothing to clean, to do, to make for the kids...it is a journey without end, Juliana, 37.

Division of knowledge between gender, or how the mothers teach and encourage their children present strong and clear division and division of task/ knowledge. Their partner help, but only in function consider male tasks- fix soothing in the house, caring things and so on.

Considering to maternity, they think they should have children and the others in their social class pensioned then to do it. The dependence—emotional and/or financial—is an indicative of domination in different level this social class. To give an example: in an interview if a Fighter (*batalhadores*), reported that she has to prepares everyday a lunch pail (marmite) to her husband— even if she works as well as much he does on her regular job. She add that “*I have to do this, I am his wife is natural that I leave all like that for him*” (Tatiana, 28).

Occurrences, in the class of fighters are more stable— emotional and financially— than in that of the marginalized but in both classes, motherhood is a core value for women. This includes a traditional division of sexual labor.

The women grow up under these habitus of “take care of the family and men”. Even if they are a littler more stable emotional compare to the women from rale, this emotional can be easily be broken. If Something bad happened in those women lives (lose a job, separation, death) it is likely, the can lose control.

My father sank into the drink after he lost a job he had as a mechanic. Never again has he worked, turns and moves, we have to search for him. He'd sent the bar around here, Amanda, 29

8.3.3 Women of the Stabilized Class

Exploring the part of the stabilized class, symbolic capital lowers important x showing status. Body capital is something standard, not used as strategies on life. For the established women, the body is less relevant in terms of a resource for sexuality and labour. The relevance of the body is sutle, but the women in this class take care of their body, it can be use as a “showing status” to, both for men an other women.

I take care of myself, I do gym and times in the week. Whenever I swim or I'll run on the beach. I'm not obsessed but I take good care of myself, Vilma 34.

I want to feel good! I think every woman should take care of herself, go to the salon ... for her and for her husband. And him to us. (Gloria, 33)

The major differences characteristic we fund between *batalhadores* and stablshed class are emotional. In this social class, families, friends and institution, give then stability and support. This is very important because built on that mother confidence on them. That confidence provides women in this class to try more opportunities, communicate better with the outsider their house and with the family members.

My mother was a great mother. My mother works out, right, but she did not let us need anything. I only have compliments to give about her. She gave me education and she was always present my life and in my father's.”

My mother was a great mother. My mother works outside the home, right, but she did not let us need anything. I only have compliments to give about her. She gave me education and she was always present in my life and in my father's. (Gloria, 33)

On the categories of organization of time is mostly developed, compare to *batalhadores* class. Division of knowledge between gender, or how the mothers teach and encourage their children present as naturalized division is more imperceptible.

They make a fix income, it provides stability to plan an organize themselves. Can hap The male can be responsibility for stabilized togheter with the women. The partnership is a strong that increase stability and problem solves. Usually male decision and symbolic violence are more symbolic— not very perceptible

Considering to maternity, it is optional, but still need to fell complied as woman.

They grow up in an emotionally and financially stable and usually supportive environment. Their future can be planned and they actively structure their time. Life is interpreted as a comprehensive work hard, in which motherhood, labor, sexuality, family and partnership are *optional* components. Most established women are in a position to support themselves financially. Their life is structured and well-planned and work out the house.

I left home but I knew, if something went wrong, I could go back, my mother was always there for me. I could try without fear. My father was more closed (cold), but he also present for me. I want this for my daughter, Vilma, 37.

Established women may be more emancipated than women of Rale, this second one contributed on the household more than the first one. They do not do this as individuals but as members of a larger network.

"It's so hard! Because I think that a woman has everything and a man does not have! The woman menstruates; the woman has to become pregnant. Nowadays they (women) work to help the man. There is no such thing as the man who takes all the expenses. Now any relationship you are all the same. Distribute the same. But apart from working out, you have to at least coordinate the house too" Roseli, said about what is "to be a woman".

"Wow this question is very difficult. That's a very broad question. I think I'll answer you in another way. I think if I could choose, I would not choose to be born a woman. I would choose to be born a man. Because I think life is much easier to be men." Marcela, 30

They are able to plan a bit ahead because they have income, social skills to planned. The basic temporal structure consists in the division of labour, leisure and family. The family for these women is more important than the other class.

I was always independent, I already knew what I wanted to do ... I started working and getting very involved early. He did not ask money from anyone. Gloria, 33

I got married, but I continued my faculty of my life. I soon got a job with a teacher and since then I've been here. Marcela, 30.

What was most evident in the analysis of the discourse of the women of the battle was the security, both emotional and financial.

She presented herself more communicatively, self-confident, and self-controlled in her own life.

8.3.4 Women of the upper class

Unfortunately, we were not able to access women of upper class. However, we based on the research from Souza (2009) and Rehbein (2016). We could have some indicatives on gender and class to Upper class.

The upper class symbolic capital is not essential. Body capital they have more "stylish mind", less use of the body and used as strategies on life. On the categories of organization of time is much disciplined. Division of knowledge between gender, or how the mothers teach and encourage their children present as lower divisions more collaboration. Emotional character of woman is stronger and constant, that provide them to try and active more in life, professionally and personal. Financially, they can dependent on husband or family or have fix outcome. The male role for them is more like partners or visual, that means to show they have someone. Considering to maternity, it is optional, used as strategies to "keep" the man and they have help from nanny or housekeeping.

Differences are that the upper class can outsource housework, children care, cooking. That simple thing provides them to have free time to invest on them and focus in others issues- formal job outside.

Gender is much more than a role or an individual's characteristic: it is a mechanism whereby situated social action contributes to the reproduction of social structure. The social world constructs the body as a gendered reality and, at the same time, as a memory of gendered categories of perception and appreciation (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 11). The gender habitus seems to be incorporated earlier and stronger, or more, than the class habitus. Considering that, it is likely that every social class incorporates on their own way gender. By that, each social class grows historically conditions of naturalization, engraving and inscribing social practice in the body.

In this way, the dividing line separating classes from privilege and oppressed classes is increasingly built from the opposition between classes of intellectual labor and classes of manual labor. Although both presuppose incorporation of knowledge to some extent, the privilege of both high salaries, as well as prestige and social recognition associated with highly valued knowledge, is monopoly of the classes of intellectual labor. In our view, it is the privileged appropriation of technical cultural capital (for example, economists, lawyers, engineers, doctors) or literary (e.g. journalists, publicists, teachers) that creates the "true middle class" as a privileged class in a modern society like the Brazilian one. At the same time it subjugates and legitimates the class of the oppressed. This inequality on a more global level is reflected in gender relations and gender reproduction in a classificatory way.

This research achieves some particular characteristic of female gender in each social class. For women of the *Ralé* their body is the most important capital, which defines her value to a large degree. The body is very sexualized and has a very symbolic value. The violence physically and symbolically and abuse in childhood are much more common than in the other classes. They also showed that they are not only humble financially but also humble emotionally, increasing insecurity and low self-esteem. Emotionally women from *Ralé* are weak and precise instable. Poor communication between family members is another characteristic of the marginalized class.

Women of the *Batalhadores* are emotionally stable compared to the women of *Ralé*. However, they are very easily affected by any external factor. The body capital is something sexual appeal, used as strategies on life. Emotionally, this milieu presents unstable lower family emotional support. On the categories of organization of time is basically bilateral divided in work and free time. Division of knowledge between gender, their partner participate – more than in *ralé* class – but only in function consider male tasks – fix soothing in the house, caring things and so on.

For women of the stabilized class women are most likely to possess these emotional and affective "incentives", that is, this "family capital" which is always a class privilege and the basis of any valued cultural capital, which will ensure its class reproduction, as "privileged class" in two senses. In the first place, they will arrive as "winners" at school, then in the labor market, and occupy spaces that the "working classes" – the working class in its various segments and the "rally" of the socially excluded – cannot achieve; second, they also reproduce the "invisibility" of the social process of privilege production – which takes place in the privacy of homes – and which can "appear", since its genesis is hidden, as "individual merit". They make a fix income, it provides stability to plan and organize themselves. They grow up in an emotionally and financially stable and usually supportive environment.

In this way, the dividing line separating women by classes from privilege and oppressed classes is increasingly built from the opposition between classes of intellectual labor and classes of manual labor. Although both presuppose incorporation of knowledge to some extent, the privilege of both high salaries, as well as prestige and social recognition associated with highly valued knowledge, is monopoly of the classes of intellectual labor. In our view, it is the privileged appropriation of technical cultural capital (for example, economists, lawyers, engineers, doctors) or literary (e.g. journalists, publicists, teachers) that creates the

“women on middle class” as a privileged class in a modern society like the Brazilian one. At the same time, it subjugates and legitimates the class of the oppressed women. This inequality on a more global level is reflected in gender relations and gender reproduction in a classificatory way.

Thus, women of the privilege classes do not only have the adequate capital to win in the social struggle for scarce resources, but also have the self-confidence of those who have taken care of the family, who “knows” who attended the best school, “Naturalness” to “speak well” foreign languages, which relies on the father’s savings for any eventuality or failure, which features “successful examples” in the family. All this is also a source of “value” resources that are also “class privilege”; such as “belief in self”, the product of a self-confidence that is class, but which is transmitted from mother to daughter. This self-confidence and self-control are so necessary to face all the inevitable self-indulgence and eventual failures of life without falling into alcoholism and in despair, and enjoy the “social recognition” of others as something as natural as those who breathe.

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This thesis is a contribution to research on gendered habitus. Building on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, particularly the concepts of habitus and male domination, this work explores the role women play in normalizing gender inequality and the different expressions of this dynamic in contemporary Brazilian social classes. The aspects of female identity that relate to feelings of weakness are transmitted in a naturalized form within a woman's social class and through informal processes of education. The focus of this research is on identifying the roles that women play in transferring aspects of their identity through daily social practices.